

**File #:**

**DO NOT  
DESTROY**

FOIPA # N/A

62-HQ-116395

**Serial Scope:**

BBF 1008

1008

Encl. 4

10/23/75

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNITY RELATIONS DIVISION

in reply to SD [redacted] dated 10/16/75, contain  
information for use of Martin Luther King, Jr.  
enclosed for us [redacted] and forwarding to the  
[redacted] is the orig of a memo in response to all  
[redacted] reported to SD [redacted] of 10/6/75. Also  
enclosed for ur records is a copy of the memo  
which is being delivered to u with a set of the  
materials which are being delivered to the SD.

#MDR16  
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11/1/00 BY SP-2 ALM/STG

F B I

Date: 12/4/62

Transmit the following in AIRTEL AIRMAIL

(Type in plain text or code)

Via

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

REC-20

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (157-6-2)  
 FROM : SAC, ATLANTA (157-315)  
 SUBJECT : RACIAL SITUATION  
 ALBANY, GA.  
 RM

ReBuairtel to Atlanta, 11/21/62.

Enclosed herewith is a copy of the report released by the Southern Regional Council entitled "Albany, A Study in National Responsibility". The author of this report is HOWARD ZINN, who is a former subject of a Security Matter - C. He recently participated in demonstrations in Atlanta, Ga. protesting the President's Cuban policy during the recent Cuban crisis.

This report of ZINN's is dated merely "1962" but it was released by the Southern Regional Council in November 1962.

③ - Bureau (1 Encl.) AMSD  
 1 - Atlanta

RRN:mel

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

ENCLOSURE

REC-26

157-6-2-926

DEC 5 1962

EX 109

51 DEC 17 1962

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

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12/3/62

CODE

RADIOGRAM

URGENT

#MDR 16

TO SAC ATLANTA (157-315)  
FROM DIRECTOR FBI (157-6-2)

11-1-00 SP2 ALM/HG

RACIAL SITUATION, ALBANY, GEORGIA, RACIAL MATTERS  
REBUAIRTEL ELEVEN TWENTY-ONE SIXTYTWO INSTRUCTING YOUR  
OFFICE TO OBTAIN A COPY OF THE REPORT OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL  
COUNCIL BY HOWARD ZINN, CAPTIONED QUOTE ALBANY, A STUDY IN  
NATIONAL RESPONSIBILITY END QUOTE. SUTEL RESULTS OF YOUR  
EFFORTS TO OBTAIN A COPY OF THIS REPORT.

REL:sjs  
(3)

Send by deferred plain text  
teletype if next radio contact  
missed.

157-6-2-920

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION  
DEC 3 1962

REC-3 19 DEC 4 1962

TELETYPE 3:27 pm

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Innes \_\_\_\_\_

DEC 11 1962

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

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11/21/62

Airtel

To: SAC, Atlanta (157-315)

✓ From: <sup>REC-3</sup> Director, FBI (157-6-2) - 717

RACIAL SITUATION  
ALBANY, GEORGIA  
RACIAL MATTERS

Reurairtel 11/19/62, which furnished a copy of your report on "Albany," written by Howard Zinn and published by the Southern Regional Council.

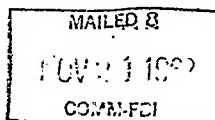
This does not appear to be the report released by the Southern Regional Council mentioned in the Atlanta Constitution article of 11/19/62. The report you furnished was published January 8, 1962, and a copy of it has previously been furnished the Bureau. The quotes mentioned in the Atlanta Constitution article attributed to Howard Zinn do not appear in the January 8, 1962, report.

The report issued on January 8, 1962, is captioned simply "Albany." The report mentioned in the Atlanta Constitution article is captioned "Albany, A Study in National Responsibility."

Your office should attempt to obtain a copy of the report of the Southern Regional Council issued in November, 1962.

RBL/rrf  
(4)

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_



1962

MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION  
NOV 1 1962

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson  
Mr. Belmont  
Mr. Mohr  
Mr. DeLoach  
Mr. Casper  
Mr. Callahan  
Mr. Conrad  
Mr. Felt  
Mr. Gale  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Sullivan  
Mr. Tavel  
Mr. Trotter  
Tele. Room  
Miss Holmes  
Miss Gandy

URGENT 11-19-62 9-40 AM EST JP

TO DIRECTOR, FBI /157-6-2/

FROM SAC, ATLANTA /157-315/

RACIAL SITUATION, ALBANY, GEORGIA, RM.

RE ATLANTA TELETYPE NOVEMBER FIFTEEN LAST CONCERNING  
REPORT OF DR. HOWARD ZINN, HISTORY PROFESSOR, SPELMAN COLLEGE.

AN ARTICLE APPEARING ON PAGE EIGHTEEN OF THE ATLANTA  
CONSTITUTION MORNING OF NOVEMBER NINETEEN SIXTYTWO, TAKEN  
FROM THE NEW YORK TIMES QUOTED REV. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
IN WHICH HE SAID HE AGREED WITH THE REPORT ISSUED NOVEMBER  
FOURTEEN LAST IN ATLANTA BY THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL  
THAT THE FBI HAD NOT BEEN VIGOROUS IN LOOKING INTO DENIALS  
OF CIVIL RIGHTS IN ALBANY AND THE SURROUNDING AREAS. STATED  
QUOTE "AGENTS OF THE FBI IN ALBANY, GA. SIDED WITH SEGREGATIONISTS."  
UNQUOTE. QUOTE "ONE OF THE GREAT PROBLEMS WE FACE WITH THE  
FBI IN THE SOUTH," UNQUOTE HE SAID, QUOTE "IS THAT THE AGENTS ARE  
WHITE SOUTHERNERS WHO HAVE BEEN INFLUENCED BY THE MORES OF  
THEIR COMMUNITY. TO MAINTAIN THEIR STATUS, THEY HAVE TO BE  
FRIENDLY WITH THE LOCAL POLICE AND PEOPLE WHO ARE PROMOTING  
SEGREGATION. EVERY TIME I SAW FBI MEN IN ALBANY, THEY WERE WITH  
THE LOCAL POLICE FORCE," UNQUOTE.

AS THE BUREAU IS AWARE, THE ALBANY RA IS MADE UP OF  
10 NOV 20 1962

END PAGE ONE

MR. BELMONT FOR THE DIRECTOR

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

PAGE TWO

FIVE AGENTS, ONE FROM INDIANA, ONE FROM BOSTON, ONE FROM KINGSTON,  
N. Y., ONE FROM MINNEAPOLIS AND ONE FROM GA. CLIPPING BEING  
FORWARDED SPECIAL TODAY. RECOMMEND NO FURTHER ACTION IN THIS  
MATTER.

END AND ACK PLS

WASSSSS

9-45 AM OK FBI WA TAT

TU DISC

CC-MR. ROSEN

F B I

Date: 11/19/62

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (157-6-2)  
 FROM: SAC, ATLANTA (157-315) P.  
 SUBJECT: RACIAL SITUATION  
ALBANY, GEORGIA  
 RM

#m DR 16  
 11/1/60  
 SP-2 ALM JTG

Remytels 11/15/62 and 11/19/62.

Enclosed herewith is a special report for the  
 Southern Regional Council by HOWARD ZINN as mentioned in  
 referenced tel, 11/15/62.

Enclosed also are two clippings from the Atlanta  
Constitution, 11/19/62 from Page 18, entitled "King Says  
 FBI Lags At Albany."

C. C. Wick

ENCLO. BEHIND FILE

3-Bureau (Enc. 3) (AM)  
 2-Atlanta  
 HGR:cjb  
 (5)

EX-109

157-6-2-917

15 NOV 22 1962

23

REC-3

11/21/62  
 SAC, AT  
 REL/ini

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_  
 Special Agent in Charge

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## RA Memorandum

TO : Mr. Belmont

DATE: 11-15-62

FROM : A. Rosen

SUBJECT: RACIAL SITUATION  
ALBANY, GEORGIA  
RACIAL MATTERS

Tolson	_____
Belmont	_____
Mohr	_____
Casper	_____
Callahan	_____
Conrad	_____
DeLoach	_____
Evans	_____
Gale	_____
Rosen	_____
Sullivan	_____
Tavel	_____
Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holmes	_____
Gandy	_____

The Atlanta Office has advised that an article appeared in the "Atlanta Constitution" on 11-15-62 based on a study called "Albany, A Study of Racial Responsibility." The study was written by Dr. Howard Zinn, who has been the subject of a security investigation by this Bureau (100-360217). Zinn was reportedly a member of the Communist Party from 1949 through 1953 and attended Communist Party meetings during that period. The study by Zinn criticizes the FBI, the Federal Government, and the administration of the City of Albany, Georgia.

Zinn is a history professor at Spelman College in Atlanta, Georgia, and the study was published by the Southern Regional Council, a group formed to advance equal opportunity for all the South's people.

The full context of the article is attached.

The article in one section states:

"Albany Negroes, said Zinn, who is white, tend to distrust local members of the FBI. The Spelman historian urges the creation of a special corps of Agents to investigate civil rights cases.

"With all the clear violations by local police of Constitutional rights," said Zinn, "the FBI has not made a single arrest on behalf of Negro citizens."

The Atlanta Office completely covered the activities at Albany, Georgia, and detailed memoranda were submitted to the Department daily. The Department did not request the arrest of any persons in connection with the racial situation.

Enclosure

1 - Mr. Mohr  
1 - Mr. DeLoach  
RBL:cac  
(8) cac

REC-26

NOV 19 1962

601 X 100

NOV 20 1962

100-360217-  
UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

Memorandum to Mr. Belmont  
RE: RACIAL SITUATION  
ALBANY, GEORGIA

The report appears to be a slanted and biased document similar to a previous report written by Zinn on Albany. Again Zinn does not add anything to the clarification of the racial problem in the South.

ACTION

Zinn should not be dignified by contact by this Bureau, and it is recommended that no action be taken in connection with him.

*BM* *Sam* *Don't h* *one*  
*SA* *Q*

"ALBANY, A STUDY OF NATIONAL RESPONSIBILITY"

"A study of Albany's racial struggles released Wednesday charges that the 'national Government has failed to protect the liberties of its citizens in the City of Albany.'

"Criticism came from Dr. Howard Zinn, history professor at Spelman College, a predominantly Negro private school in Atlanta.

"Albany negroes, said Zinn, who is white, tend to distrust local members of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. The Spelman historian urges the creation of a special Federal corps of agents to investigate civil rights cases.

"'With all the clear violations by local police of Constitutional rights,' said Zinn, 'the FBI has not made a single arrest on behalf of Negro citizens.'

"Zinn's study, called 'Albany, A Study in National Responsibility,' was published by the Southern Regional Council, an interracial group formed in 1944 to advance 'equal opportunity for all the South's people.'

"Zinn's study aimed its chief criticism at the Federal Government, pointing out that both Albany Negroes and white citizens acted in accord with their expressed convictions.

"The 40-year-old professor said the Government reacted 'slowly and awkwardly' to the racial troubles which began in Albany in December of 1961, during which nearly 1,200 arrests were made, chiefly of Negroes.

"Zinn was also critical of the 'failure of the city's white leadership' in Albany, suggesting that the white population of the city would 'respond to a leadership which moderately and quietly arranged for compromise agreements with the Negro population.'

"He also criticized the manner in which Police Chief Laurie Pritchett handled the disturbances."

*FF m d e l 6*

*SP 2 Ann 1206*

*11-1-00*

*157-6-2-916*

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION  
NOV 15 1962

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Evans	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

URGENT 11-15-62 11-51 AM EST JWC

TO DIRECTOR, FBI /157-6-2/

FROM SAC, ATLANTA /157-315/

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-1-00 BY SP2ALM/176

RACIAL SITUATION, ALBANY, GEORGIA, RM.

THE FOLLOWING ARTICLE APPEARED IN THE ATLANTA

CONSTITUTION MORNING OF NOVEMBER FIFTEEN INSTANT BASED ON A  
STUDY CALLED QUOTE ALBANY, A STUDY OF NATIONAL RESPONSIBILITY  
UNQUOTE WRITTEN BY DR. HOWARD ZINN, HISTORY PROFESSOR,  
SPELMAN COLLEGE, ATLANTA, GEORGIA, PUBLISHED BY SOUTHERN  
REGIONAL COUNCIL, AN INTERRACIAL GROUP FORMED TO ADVANCE  
EQUAL OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL THE SOUTH-S PEOPLE. THE FOLLOWING  
ARTICLE ENTITLED QUOTE U.S. LAXITY AT ALBANY IS CHARGED, QUOTE IS  
VERBATIM.

QUOTE A STUDY OF ALBANY-S RACIAL STRUGGLES RELEASED  
WEDNESDAY CHARGES THAT THE SINGLE QUOTE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT  
HAS FAILED TO PROTECT THE LIBERTIES OF ITS CITIZENS IN THE  
CITY OF ALBANY, SINGLE QUOTE.

QUOTE CRITICISM CAME FROM DR. HOWARD ZINN, HISTORY  
PROFESSOR AT SPELMAN COLLEGE, A PREDOMINANTLY NEGRO PRIVATE  
SCHOOL IN ATLANTA. QUOTE ALBANY, NEGROES, SAID ZINN, WHO IS WHITE, TEND  
TO DISTRUST LOCAL MEMBERS OF THE FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION.  
THE SPELMAN HISTORIAN URGES THE CREATION OF A SPECIAL FEDERAL  
END PAGE ONE

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PAGE TWO

CORPS OF AGENTS TO INVESTIGATE CIVIL RIGHTS CASES.

~~QUOTE SINGLE~~ QUOTE WITH ALL VIOLATIONS BY  
LOCAL POLICE OF CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS, ~~SINGLE QUTE~~ SAID ZINN,  
SINGLE QUOTE, THE FBI HAS NOT MADE A SINGLE ARREST ON BEHALF  
OF NEGRO CITIZENS ~~SINGLE QUOTE~~.

QUOTE ZINN-S STUDY, CALLED SINGLE QUOTE ALBANY, A  
STUDY IN NATIONAL RESPONSIBILITY SINGLE QUOTE WAS PUBLISHED  
BY THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL CONUNCIL, AN INTERRACIAL GROUP FORMED  
IN NINETEEN FORTYFOUR TO ADVANCE SINGLE QUOTE EQUAL OPPORTUNITY  
FOR ALL THE SOUTH-S PEOPLE SINGLE QUOTE.

QUOTE ZINN-S STUDY AIMED ITS CHIEF CRITICISM AT THE  
FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, POINTING OUT THAT BOTH ALBANY NEGROES AND  
WHITE CITIZENS ACTED IN ACCORD WITH THEIR EXPRESSED CONVICTIONS.

QUOTE THE FORTY YEAR OLD PROFESSOR SAID THE GOVERNMENT  
REACTED QUOTE SLOWLY AND AWKWARDLY SINGLE QUOTE TO THE RACIAL  
TROUBLES WHICH BEGAN IN ALBANY IN DECEMBER OF NINETEEN SOXTY  
ONE, DURING WHICH NEARLY TWELVE HUNDRED ARRESTS WERE MADE,  
CHIEFLY OF NEGROES.

QUOTE ZINN WAS ALSO CRITICAL OF THE SINGLE QUOTE  
FAILURE OF THE CITY-S WHITE LEADERSHIP SINGLE QUOTE IN ALBANY,  
CORR LINE 2 SHD READ  
QUOTE SINGLE QUOTE WITH ALL TH E CLEAR VIOLATIONS BY  
END PAGE TWO

REC'D - FBI  
FBI

NOV 12 15 04 PM '68

PAGE THREE

SUGGESTING THAT THE WHITE POPULATION OF THE CITY WOULD  
SINGLE QUOTE RESPOND TO A LEADERSHIP WHICH MODERATELY AND  
QUIETLY ARRANGED FOR COMPROMISE AGREEMENTS WITH THE NEGRO  
POPULATION SINGLE QUOTE.

QUOTE HE ALSO CRITICIZED THE MANNER IN WHICH POLICE  
CHIEF LAURIE PRITCHETT HANDLED THE DISTURBANCES QUOTE.

DR. ZINN IS SUBJECT OF BUFILE ONE HUNDRED DASH  
THREE SIX ZERO TWO ONE SEVEN, MEMBER OF CP FROM FORTY NINE  
THROUGH FIFTYTHREE NYC AND ATTENDED CP MEETINGS DURING THAT  
PERIOD. IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT ZINN NOT BE FURTHER DIGNIFIED  
BY CONTACT FROM THIS OFFICE AND NO ACTION BE TAKEN. ZINN-S REPORT  
WILL BE SUBMITTED SEPARATELY.

END AND ACK

12-01 OK FBI WA MET

TU DISC

*cc: Mrs. Zarin*

SSC LETTER 10-6-75

ITEM 4

#Fmde16  
11-100 SP2ALM1776

RETAIN

See 1008

~~SECRET~~

1 - Mr. Rosen (McGowan)  
1 - Mr. Bland  
1 - Mr. Haack  
1 - Mr. Kitchens January 8, 1962

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

Director, FBI

STANLEY DAVID LEVISON  
SECURITY MATTER - C

Amde 16 SP2 ALM 1286

11-1-00

REC'D-READING ROOM

JAN 8 1 20 PM '62

I thought you would be interested in knowing that Levison, a New York attorney and businessman who is a secret member of the Communist Party, USA, is allegedly a close adviser to the Reverend Martin Luther King, prominent southern Negro leader. According to our source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, Levison reportedly wrote the speech that King delivered at the recent American Federation of Labor - Congress of Industrial Organizations convention and aids King in financial matters. (Our source also said that Levison, through his association with King, reportedly has access to the White House and has been in contact with the President and you.)

Because of the sensitive nature of our source, we have classified this communication "~~Secret~~".

100-392452

NOTE ON YELLOW: Subject's name in Security Index. Department has been furnished reports on him. Levison has for a number of years been involved in Communist Party (CP) (Reserve Fund apparatus and other CP financial activities.) Above information concerning him obtained from NY 694 IS-102. Information concerning Levison known only to above informant, LCG 5824-S\*, and a few CP leaders.

NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION  
Unauthorized Disclosure  
Subject to Criminal Sanctions

MAILED 2  
JAN 3 - 1962  
COMM-FBI

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
Malone \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Ingram \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

TWK:mtb  
(10)

~~SECRET~~

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

UNITED STATES

## Memorandum

TO : Mr. Belmont

DATE: 2/2/62

FROM : C. A. Evans

SUBJECT: STANLEY DAVID LEVISON  
SECURITY MATTER - C

Tolson	_____
Belmont	_____
Mohr	_____
Callahan	_____
Conrad	_____
DeLoach	_____
Evans	_____
Malone	_____
Rosen	_____
Sullivan	_____
Tavel	_____
Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Ingram	_____
Gandy	_____

Deputy Attorney General White called and referred to the Director's memorandum to the Attorney General of January 8, 1962. In this memorandum the Attorney General was informed that Levison, a New York attorney and businessman, who is a secret member of the Communist Party, is allegedly a close adviser to the Reverend Martin Luther King, prominent southern Negro leader. Levison is reported to have written a speech delivered by King at the AFL-CIO convention. Levison is also said to have access to the White House and to the Attorney General through his association with King.

Our memorandum to the Attorney General was classified Secret as information concerning him is known only to our informant and a limited number of Communist Party leaders.

White asked that I meet with him so that the matter concerning Levison could be discussed. It is White's feeling that definitely some action should be taken.

Inasmuch as Levison is a secret member of the Communist Party and his relationship with King is known only to our informant and a limited number of Communist Party leaders, the Domestic Intelligence Division will review our file for the purpose of determining if there is any information of a non-classified nature which might be utilized by the Department. As soon as this file review has been made, White will be contacted in line with his request and a determination made as to what action the Department has in mind with regard to this New York attorney, businessman and secret member of the Communist Party.

1 - Mr. Sullivan  
1 - Mr. Rosen

CAE:maw  
(9)

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings of your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: February 3, 1962

FROM : Mr. J. F. Bland

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Evans
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Rosen (McGowan)
- 1 - Mr. Bland
- 1 - Mr. Haack
- 1 - Mr. Kitchens

SUBJECT: STANLEY DAVID LEVISON  
SECURITY MATTER - C

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Malone \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Ingram \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Deputy Attorney General (DAG) White has requested that Assistant Director Evans discuss with him the association of the Reverend Martin Luther King and Levison since he feels some action must be taken.

The Attorney General (AG) by letter dated 1/8/62 was advised that Levison, a secret member of the Communist Party (CP), is allegedly a close adviser of the Reverend Martin Luther King, prominent southern Negro leader, and wrote the speech that King delivered at the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations convention. The AG was also advised that Levison reportedly, through his association with King, had access to the Attorney General and to the White House.

Information has since been received on 1/29/62 from SF 2256-S that Gus Hall, General Secretary, CPUSA, has claimed authorship of King's speech.

New York and San Francisco have been requested to contact the informants involved to see if they can throw any additional light on specifically who was responsible for preparation of the speech, although it is logical to assume that Levison consulted Hall concerning the speech; thus, both may have had a part in its preparation.

BACKGROUND:

Levison, a New York businessman and attorney, is in the Security Index. NY 694-S\* and CG 5824-S\* have furnished information since 1952 concerning Levison's activities in and contributions to the CP Reserve Fund. He contributed \$12,000 to the CPUSA during 1961. Levison's connections with the CP are known only to the informants and to a very few national leaders of the CP.

13 FEB 16 1962

OBSERVATIONS:

The purpose in advising the AG of Levison's connection with King was to alert him and the President that Levison was apparently using his association with King as a means of gaining access to the

100-392452

TWK:mtb:djw (8)

CC MR. TOLSON

memo from the Belmont 2/6/62

Memorandum for Mr. Sullivan  
RE: STANLEY DAVID LEVISON  
100-392452

AG and to the White House and of the possible communist influence on King. This has been accomplished.

It appears that White desires to furnish King, or someone close to him, some information about Levison and to suggest at least that King break off his relations with Levison. Since Levison's connections with the CP are known to only a few top CP functionaries, the disclosure of any specific information about his activities which might get back to Levison or to the CP would tend to identify CG 5824-S\* and NY 694-S\*, who are vital to the internal security of the country. However, if White or the AG feel a compelling need to furnish King information about Levison, it is believed that it would minimize the risk to the informants if King were told in strict confidence that Levison has in the past been a member of the CP and that indications are he is still under its influence. White should be advised that under no circumstances should specific information as contained in the Director's letter be discussed with King, since it would definitely endanger our informant and the national security.

RECOMMENDATION:

That this memorandum be forwarded to Assistant Director Evans for his guidance in discussing this matter with DAG White.

TWK  
10/11/62

JBW

JCS

EBB

DD

Keener

King is no good any  
more. Under no circumstances  
should our informant  
be endangered.

Memo Evans R Belmont  
2/6/62 - CAE:MAW

UNITED STATE

## Memorandum

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
 DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
 Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
 Malone \_\_\_\_\_  
 Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
 Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Ingram \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

TO : Mr. Belmont *MB*

FROM : C. A. Evans *CAE*

SUBJECT: STANLEY DAVID LEVISON  
 SECURITY MATTER - C

DATE: 2/6/62

Deputy Attorney General White was contacted with reference to the Bureau's letter of January 8, 1962. In this letter the Department was informed that Levison, a secret member of the Communist Party, is allegedly a close adviser to the Reverend Martin Luther King. Levison, a New York attorney and businessman, is reported to have written a speech for King. Levison is also said to have access to the White House and to the Attorney General through his association with King.

In discussing this matter with Mr. White, it was pointed out that under no circumstances should any action be taken which would endanger the position of our informant. White said he fully appreciated this. He stated he had contacted Assistant Attorney General Marshall of the Civil Rights Division about this relationship between Levison and King and was told by Marshall that sometime ago King had been alerted to the past history of Levison. Deputy Attorney General White said his only concern at this time was whether he should alert anyone at the White House in view of the allegation Levison might have access to the White House.

When it was pointed out to White that the only information reported was that such access would be through Levison's association with King, White concluded that he may have read the Director's memorandum too rapidly as he had the impression Levison might have some direct contact with the White House. White said from the character of some of the people over at the White House he would not have been surprised if it were reported that Levison actually did have such a contact. The matter having been clarified for him, White said he did not propose to take any further action but was appreciative of this matter having been brought to his attention.

- 1 - Mr. Sullivan  
 1 - Mr. Rosen

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

CAE:mav  
 (6)

REC-33

100-3245-136

13 FEB 16 1962

67 FEB 10 1962



SSC Request 10/6/75

Item 5

a. (Stanley David Levison)

Retain

#m D216  
11-1-00 SP-2 ALM/ETG

1008

Some fine  
enclosed

FBI

Date: 12/2/69

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

#m216  
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-1-00 BY SP2 ALM/TRE  
60 [Signature]

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-392452)  
FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-111180-SUB 10)  
SUBJECT: STANLEY DAVID LEVISON  
RM; IS-C  
(OO: NEW YORK)

JUNE

ReBuairtel to NY, 9/19/69.

**ELSUR**

**NY 3810-S\*** was discontinued on 9/24/69, because of the subject's departure from the United States on a European trip scheduled to extend until the latter part of October, 1969.

**ELSUR\***

On 8/8/69, an FD 143 was submitted recommending continuation of **NY 3810-S\***. A review of information furnished by this source since this justification does not, in the opinion of the NYO, justify reinstating **NY 3810-S\***. The information furnished by **NY 3810-S\*** since the death of MARTIN LUTHER KING, Jr. shows that LEVISON considers KING'S replacement as SCLC President, RALPH ABERNATHY, as being incompetent. LEVISON does have a good relationship with the Executive Vice-President of the SCLC, ANDREW YOUNG, and YOUNG does seek LEVISON'S counsel. In addition, LEVISON has the admiration and respect of KING'S widow, CORETTA KING, who seeks LEVISON'S advise on her relationship with the SCLC and her own activities such as public appearances, speeches and writings. The source has continued to supply this type of information as indicated by NYairtel and LHM, 9/17/69, entitled "COMINFIL SCLC; IS-C".

**ELSUR**

The NYO believes that reinstating **NY 3810-S\*** would develop more of the same type of information described above. However, SCLC is not engaged in any extremist black activity at the present time and there is no reason to believe that its

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
- 1 - New York (#43)

REC-35 / 100-392452-359

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

NY 100-111180-SUB 10

future course will be other than that of non-violence as advocated by MARTIN LUTHER KING, Jr. and pledged by RALPH ABERNATHY. In addition, no information has been developed recently that STANLEY LEVISON is under the influence of the Communist Party or has any contacts with the Party leadership either as regards himself personally or his efforts on behalf of the SCLC. Therefore, it is believed that the intelligence information to be obtained by the reinstating of NY 3810-S\* does not warrant a recommendation for reactivation of this source. Its reactivation is not being recommended.

EL 5/12

F B I

Date: 6/16/65

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED  
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-392452)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-111180)

SUBJECT: STANLEY DAVID LEVISON  
IS-C

"JUNE"

Re NY airtel to Bureau, 5/18/65.

FLSUIR

NY 3810-S\* installed at 12:05 PM on 6/15/65.

Full security assured.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-1-00 BY SP2ALM/L76

*Handwritten:* 4/21/65  
C. G. Wiles

*Handwritten:* H-1

3 - Bureau (RM)  
1 - New York (42)

JCS:msb  
(5)

REC-23

15 JUN 17 1965

EX-11

*Handwritten:* INT. SEC.

*Handwritten:* SUEV CONTROL  
NOHUE

*Handwritten:* TL RM.

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized person without the express approval of the FBI.  
Approved \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

SECRET



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to

File No. (IS) 100-392452

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

May 24, 1965

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

RE: STANLEY DAVID LEVISON  
INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST

JUNE 11-1-00  
# m d e l s  
SP2 Alm / JRG

Stanley David Levison is a long-time communist whose secret membership in the Communist Party, USA, has been established as recently as July, 1963. For many years, Levison has been a close advisor to Martin Luther King, Jr., and has exerted considerable influence in the civil rights movement through his counseling of King. King and Levison personally met in New York City on May 13, 1965, at which time Levison advised King concerning voter registration activities in Alabama and also urged that King support demands for peace in Vietnam.

Levison resides at Apartment 3D, 585 West End Avenue, New York City, telephone number SU 7-1430. He is an attorney and businessman with an office in Room 1106, 1841 Broadway Avenue, New York City.

Your authority is requested for the installation of a technical surveillance on the above residence of Levison or at any other address to which Levison might move in the future.

Respectfully,

*J. Edgar Hoover*  
John Edgar Hoover  
Director  
100-392452-248  
REC 33

APPROVED *mls*

DATE *5/25/65*

EX 105

6 JUN 8 1965

SECRET

GROUP 1  
Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

*You should discontinue it  
at any time L. is acting as  
attorney for clients living  
with the U.S.*

*mls*

SPEC. MAIL RM

JUN 10 1965

NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION  
Unauthorized Disclosure  
Subject to Criminal Sanctions

*Guidance 44/5/70/65  
SP P/2ch.*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

TO : Mr. Sullivan *#MDR16*  
*ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 11/1/00 BY SP2ALM/216*  
FROM : F. J. Baumgardner *info*  
SUBJECT: STANLEY DAVID LEVISON  
INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST

DATE: 5/21/65

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Bland
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. Donohue
- 1 - Mr. Phillips

*B. J. [unclear]*  
*5-21-65*  
*[unclear]*

This memorandum recommends requesting the Attorney General's authority for a technical surveillance on Stanley David Levison.

Security Index subject Levison is the long-time communist whose Party membership has been established as recently as July, 1963, and who is a key advisor to Martin Luther King, Jr., and thus a most effective influence in the civil rights movement. While King and Levison have attempted to keep their relationship secret, we have recently noted personal meetings between the two with Levison exerting influence on King in an area in addition to the civil rights movement. They met together in a New York City hotel 5/13/65 when Levison advised King relative to voter registration activities in Alabama and for King to declare himself strongly for peace in Vietnam.

From time to time in the past, we have had technical-type coverage on Levison, both in his office and residence. The last coverage of his residence was installed 3/20/62 and discontinued 7/25/64 due to the limited information being obtained at that time which was probably attributable to the attempt by Levison to keep most secret his contacts with and concerning King. The New York Office has conducted a survey and finds feasible the installation of a technical surveillance on Levison's residence, Apartment 3D, 335 West End Avenue, New York City, telephone JU 7-1430, which it assures can be done with full security.

With the increasing importance of the civil rights movement and the recent indications of Levison more and more influencing King, it is believed that the reactivation of a technical surveillance on Levison's residence will prove very productive to the Bureau. No prosecution of Levison is contemplated at the present time. We now have 13 investigative-type technical surveillances in operation; 5 are awaiting installation. The limit on such technical surveillance installations is 75.

100-332152

SFP:deh (7)

JUN 2 1965  
CONTINUED - OVER

SPEC. MAIL RM.

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

Memorandum to Mr. Sullivan  
Re: Stanley Davis Levison  
100-392452

RECOMMENDATION:

Attached for approval is a memorandum to the Attorney General requesting his authority for a technical surveillance on subject's residence.

*Bo 9/10/56*

*✓*

*St*

*Shs*

*on*

*a*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-392452) DATE: 2/13/64

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-111180) JUNE

SUBJECT: STANLEY DAVID LEVISON •  
IS-C

654K  
NY 4137-S\* has not been furnishing information of value and was discontinued at subec NYO, 12:00 noon, 2/13/64.

*DECLASSIFIED BY 295 WEW/Toms  
ON 1/8/90 GARROW/LEVISON  
82-1652*

*This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.*

EX-115

REC- 24

- 2 - Bureau (100-392452) (RM)  
1 - New York (100-111180) (LID 12)

JFO:gmd  
(3)

100 - 392452 22  
14 FEB 13 1964

SUB CONTROL

DONOHUE

6 FEB 24 1964



F B I

Date: 9/23/63

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-392452) JUNE  
FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-111180-SUB 12)  
SUBJECT: STANLEY DAVID LEVISON  
IS-C  
(OO:NY)

Reurairtel 9/10/63.

NY 4137-S\* tesur covering telephone TR 3-6542,  
apartment 3-D, 585 West End Ave., NYC, installed 1:00 p.m.  
9/23/63. Monitored gutech NYO. Full security assured.  
Justification will be handled in conjunction with justifica-  
tion of NY 3810-S\* per Bureau instructions.

DECLASSIFIED BY 275 WEW/DMS  
ON 1-8-90 GARROW/LEWIS  
82-1652

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

REC-27

216

SEP 24 1963

3-Bureau (100-392452) (RM)  
1-NY 100-111180-SUB 12

FTL:umh  
(5)

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

OCT 2 1963

FBI

Date: 11/29/62

Transmit the following in PLAIN TEXT  
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-392452)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-111180-SUB 10)

JUNE

SUBJECT: STANLEY DAVID LEVISON  
IS-C  
(OO: NY)

ReBuairtel, 11/21/62.

Tesur covering LEVISON's residence, 585 West End Avenue, New York City, telephone number SU 7-1430, installed 2:30 PM, this date, Symbol number NY 3810-S\*. Full security assured. Monitored Sufec NYO.

*Location*  
*ELSUR*  
*1-5-90 GARROW/LEVISON*  
*82-1652*

3 - Bureau (100-392452) (RM)  
1 - New York (100-111180-SUB 10)

FTL:gmm  
(5)

8 NOV 30 1962

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

Wick

Approved: DEC 13 1962  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

*SPEC*



~~SECRET~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No. 100-392452

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

November 20, 1962

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

RE: STANLEY DAVID LEVISON  
SECURITY MATTER - C

Levison, a New York City attorney and businessman, is a secret member of the Communist Party, USA, and has long been active in Communist Party financial activities. He has acted as financial and business adviser to the Communist Party on numerous occasions, has operated various business enterprises for it and has contributed large sums of money to the Communist Party.

It is believed that valuable information concerning Communist Party financial matters will be obtained through the installation of a technical surveillance in the subject's residence. In view of this, I recommend that authority be granted to install a technical surveillance in Levison's residence located at 585 West End Avenue, New York City, or to any residence to which he may move in the future.

NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION  
Unauthorized Disclosure  
Subject to Criminal Sanctions

Respectfully,

*J. Edgar Hoover*  
John Edgar Hoover  
Director

APPROVED *R. M. [Signature]*

DATE 11/20/62

REC-14

EX-118

~~SECRET~~

Group 1

Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

7 NOV 26 1962

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: November 19, 1962

FROM : Mr. J. F. Bland

JUNE

SUBJECT: STANLEY DAVID LEVISON  
SECURITY MATTER - C

1 - Mr. Belmont  
1 - Mr. Sullivan  
1 - Mr. Bland  
1 - Mr. Donohue  
1 - Mr. Haack  
1 - Mr. Floyd

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

New York has requested authority to install a technical surveillance in subject's residence, Apartment 3-D, 585 West End Avenue, New York City, telephone SU 7-1430.

Levison's name in Security Index. He is an attorney and businessman who is involved in secret (Communist Party (CP) financial matters). Confidential Informant NY 694-S\* furnished information in 1962 of close association between subject and the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., prominent Southern Negro leader. Levison reportedly wrote the speech that King delivered at the American Federation of Labor Congress of Industrial Organizations Convention, aided King in financial matters and characterized King as "a wholehearted Marxist" who has studied it and believes in it. (Levison allegedly has access to the White House and Attorney General through his association with King). This information previously furnished to Attorney General and O'Donnell at the White House. Technical surveillance at Levison's office reports Levison is close advisor to King and that he exerts tremendous influence on King. Information recently received indicates Levison frequently uses telephone at his residence to communicate with King and with Hunter Pitts Odell, an associate of King's who has been active in CP affairs.

A survey conducted on Bureau authority disclosed installation can be made with complete security. Installation of technical surveillance in Levison's office was authorized by airtel 3/20/62.

## OBSERVATION:

Although NY 694-S\* and the technical installation in subject's office are able to furnish considerable information concerning Levison, as complete coverage as possible is desired to more adequately determine Levison's association with and

Enc. sent 11-20-62

100-392452

REC-22

7 NOV 27 1962

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-1-00 BY SP-2 ALM/ALB

Memorandum to Mr. Sullivan  
RE: STANLEY DAVID LEVISON  
100-392452

influence on King, his possible association with Government and union officials and his financial activities in behalf of the Communist Party, USA. Since we currently have technical coverage of Levison's office, the additional coverage requested will not affect the total count of technical installations.

RECOMMENDATION:

Attached for approval is a memorandum to the Attorney General requesting authority to install a technical surveillance on Levison's residence, Apartment 3-D, 585 West End Avenue, New York City.

WJ7  
10/1

WJ7

Opb

✓

F B I

Date: 7/27/64

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-392452)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-111180)

SUBJECT: STANLEY LEVISON  
SM - C

JUNE

Reference telephone call from Inspector JOSEPH  
SIZOO, 7-27-64.

At 2:20 p.m., 7/25/64, NY 3810-S\* and NY 3580-S\*  
discontinued.

#mdr/6  
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-1-00 BY SP-2 ALM/ATG

REC-15

C. B. NICH

3-Bureau (RM)  
1-New York

JMK:mbj  
(5)

JUL 28 1964

SUBV. CONTROL

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings of your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

6 AUG 7 1964 Special Agent in Charge

F B I

Date: 3/20/62

PLAIN TEXT

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

AIRTEL

RM

(Type in plain text or code)

Via \_\_\_\_\_

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-392452)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-111180)

JUNE

SUBJECT: STANLEY DAVID LEVISON  
SM-C  
(OO: NY)

DECLASSIFIED BY 275-NEW/DMS  
ON 1-4-90 GARRON/LEWIS  
82-1652

Reurairtel 3/13/62, authorizing installation of tesur. on subject's office, Room 601, 6 East 39th St., NYC, telephones MURRAY Hill 4-2932, 2933 and 2934.

Tesur installed 2:45 PM, 3/20/62, assigned symbol number NY 3580-S\* Tesur will be monitored at Satec, NYO.

CONF. INST.

Full security assured.

3 - Bureau (100-392452) (RM)

1 - NY 100-111180-SUB 8 (415)

1 - NY 100-111180 (415)

FTL:KMD  
(6)

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the F.I.

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_



~~SECRET~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to

File No. 100-392452

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

March 6, 1962

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

RE: STANLEY DAVID LEVISON  
SECURITY MATTER - C

Levison, a New York City attorney and business-  
man, is a secret member of the Communist Party, USA, and  
has long been active in Communist Party (financial activi-  
ties. He has contributed large sums of money to the  
Communist Party, has operated various business enterprises  
for it, and has acted as financial and business adviser  
to it on numerous occasions.

It is believed that valuable information concern-  
ing (Communist Party financial matters) will be obtained  
through the installation of a technical surveillance in  
subject's office. In view of this, I recommend that  
authority be granted to install a technical surveillance  
in Levison's office located at 6 East 39th Street, New  
York City, or to any office to which he may move in the  
future.

Respectfully,

*J. Edgar Hoover*  
John Edgar Hoover  
Director

APPROVED: *PMK*

DATE: 3/12/62

REC-43

100-392452-111  
25 MAR 15 1962

NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION  
Unauthorized Disclosure  
Subject to Criminal Sanctions

~~SECRET~~

SPEC. MAIL-RM.



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: March 6, 1962

FROM : Mr. J. F. Bland

JUNE

SUBJECT: STANLEY DAVID LEVISON  
SECURITY MATTER - C

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Bland
- 1 - Mr. Donohue
- 1 - Mr. Haack
- 1 - Mr. Kitchens

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
 DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
 Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
 Malone \_\_\_\_\_  
 Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
 Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Ingram \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

#MDR16  
 ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 DATE 11-1-00 BY SP2 ALM

New York has requested authority to install a technical surveillance in subject's office, 6 East 39th Street, New York City, telephones MU 4-2932, MU 4-2933 and MU 4-2934.

CONF. INFP.

Levison's name in Security Index. He is an attorney and businessman who is involved in secret Communist Party financial matters. NY 694-S\* furnished information in January and February, 1962, concerning close association between subject and the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., prominent southern Negro leader. Levison reportedly wrote the speech that King delivered at the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations convention, aided him in financial matters, and characterized King as "a wholehearted Marxist" who has studied it and believes in it. Levison allegedly has access to the White House and Attorney General through his association with King. This information previously furnished Attorney General and O'Donnell at the White House.

A survey conducted on Bureau authority disclosed installation can be made with complete security. Installation of microphone surveillance in Levison's office was authorized by airtel March 2, 1962.

## OBSERVATIONS:

Although NY 694-S\* is able to furnish some information concerning Levison and microphone surveillance will also furnish additional information, as complete coverage as possible is desired to more adequately determine his association with and influence on King, his possible association with Government and union officials and his financial activities in behalf of the Communist Party, USA. There are 22 technical surveillances in operation and 12 are being installed for a total of 34.

REC-24

Belmont

100-392452

TWA:sag

(7)

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

Memorandum to Mr. Sullivan  
Re: STANLEY DAVID LEVISON  
100-392452

ACTION:

Attached for approval is a memorandum to the Attorney General requesting authority to install a technical surveillance on Levison's office, 6 East 39th Street, New York City.

TWA JRE

SP

WV/S  
S

OK  
S

V

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-392452)

DATE: 11/15/62

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-111180-Sub 6)

SUBJECT: STANLEY DAVID LEVISON  
IS-C  
(OO: NY)

JUNE

#m2816  
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-1-00 BY SP2 ALM/176

Re NY airtel, 8/16/62.

Security situation regarding mate unit covering subject's office (NY 3575-S\*) has not changed to date.

Present coverage of LEVISON includes a tesur (NY 3580-S\*) covering his office at 6 E. 39th St., NYC. Also a tesur survey of subject's residence at 585 West End Ave. has been completed and Bureau authority to install has been requested in separate communication.

It is felt that these two tesurs will give comprehensive coverage of LEVISON's activities. It is, therefore recommended that mate unit covering subject's office be permanently discontinued.

*This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.*

2-Bureau (100-392452) (RM)  
1-New York (100-111180-Sub 6) (414)  
FTL:rmv  
(3)

REC-14

EX-118

NOV 16 1962

SUBV

F B I

Date: 8/16/62

Transmit the following in PLAIN TEXT  
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-392452)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-111180)

JUNE

SUBJECT: STANLEY LEVISON  
IS - C

11/16/62  
11/17/62  
11/18/62  
11/19/62  
11/20/62  
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On 8/16/62, at 4:50 AM, NY 3575-S\*, mate unit covering subject's office, was temporarily removed for security reasons, as information received that new telephone system to be installed in LEVISON's office.

11-1-00  
SP-2 ALM  
#more 16

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the F. I.

- ③ - Bureau (100-392452) (RM)
- 1 - New York (100-111180)

JJK:gmm  
(5)

REC-2

12 AUG 17 1962

11-1-00

11-1-00

SUBV. & CONTROL

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

FBI

Date: 3/16/62

Transmit the following in PLAIN TEXT

(Type in plain text or code)

AIRTEL

RM

Via \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-392452)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-111180)

SUBJECT: STANLEY DAVID LEVISON  
SM-C  
(OO: NY)

DECLASSIFIED BY 275 WEW/Koms  
ON 1-4-90 GARRON/LEVISON  
JUNE 82-1652

ReBuairtel 3/2/62, granting authority to install misur in subject's office, 6 E. 39th St., NYC.

~~CONF. INFO.~~ Misur installed 10:10 AM, 3/16/62, symbol number, NY 3575-S\* Misur monitored at Sutec NYC. Full security assured.

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- 3 - Bureau (100-392452) (RM)
- 1 - NY (100-111180-SUB 6) (415)
- 1 - NY (100-111180) (415)

FTL:KMD  
(6)

REC-43

Approved: [Signature]  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ Per \_\_\_\_\_

## Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan <sup>69</sup>

DATE: March 2, 1962

FROM : Mr. J. F. Bland

JUNE

1-Mr. Belmont <sup>WCS</sup>  
 1-Mr. Sullivan  
 1-Mr. J. W. Matter  
 1-Mr. Bland  
 1-Mr. Donohue  
 1-Mr. Kaack  
 1-Mr. Kitchens

SUBJECT: STANLEY DAVID LEVISON  
SECURITY MATTER - C

This memorandum sets forth justification of microphone surveillance in office of Stanley David Levison, 6 East 39th Street, New York City.

CONF. INFO. Levison's name in Security Index. He is an attorney and businessman who is involved in (Secret Communist Party (CP) financial matters.) NY 694-S\* furnished information in January and February, 1962, concerning close association between subject and the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., prominent southern Negro leader. Levison reportedly wrote speech that King delivered at the AFL-CIO convention, aids him in financial matters, and characterized King as "a whole-hearted Marxist" who has studied it and believes in it. (Levison allegedly has access to the White House and Attorney General through his association with King.) This information previously furnished Attorney General and O'Donnell at White House.

New York airtel 2-28-62 requests authority for installation of a microphone in office of Levison. A survey conducted on Bureau authority disclosed installation can be made with complete security, although trespass will be necessary.

OBSERVATIONS:

Although NY 694-S\* is able to furnish some information concerning Levison, additional coverage is believed necessary to more adequately determine his influence on and association with King, his possible association with Government officials, and his (financial activities in behalf of the C., USA.).

RECOMMENDATION:

That attached airtel be sent to New York giving it authority to install a microphone in the office of Levison at 6 East 39th Street, New York City.

REC-23

EX-107

25 MAR 13 1962

Enclosure

100-392452

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized persons without the express approval of the F. I.

(8)

6 MAR 21 1962

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

AIRTEL

NY 3/18/55

Mr. Tolson  
Mr. E. A. Tamm  
Mr. Clegg  
Mr. Glavin  
Mr. Ladd  
Mr. Nichols  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Tracy  
Mr. Carson  
Mr. Egan  
Mr. Gurnea  
Mr. Harbo  
Mr. Hendon  
Mr. Pennington  
Mr. Quinn  
Mr. Nease  
Miss Gandy

Transmit the following Teletype message to: BUREAU

JUNE

1245

JUNE. STANLEY DAVID LEVISON, IS-C.

Reurairtel 3/17/55.

NY 1533-S\* discontinued 2:00 PM this date.

ELSGAR

KELLY

3 BUREAU (RM)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-1-00 BY SP2 ALM/706

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. It is limited to official proceedings by the Committee and is not to be disseminated without the express approval of the Committee.

[Redacted]

40

DEB:LD (419)  
100-111180

RECORDED

10 AUG 29 1955

19 AUG 29 1955

Approved \_\_\_\_\_ Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

Air-Tel  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

**SECRET**

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

NY, NY; 5/5/55

JUNE

Transmit the following Teletype message to: Bureau...June...Urgent

June. Stanley David Levison; IS - C

Rebuaintel, 3/2/55, granting authority to install ~~cover~~ on residence of subject.

TECHNICAL SURVEILLANCE

Tesor installed 1:55 pm, 5/5/55. Symbol number NY-1533-S assigned.

[Coverage at Sutech.]

Location (S)

CONF. INPT.

#mdel 11-2-00  
CLASSIFIED BY SP-2 ALM/HG  
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 1

KELLY

*This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.*

Mr. Belmont

③ - Bureau (100-392452) (REGISTERED MAIL)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

RECORDED-61  
INDEXED-61

FJS:JH (#7-1)  
100-111100-Sub 4

MAY 17 1955

6 MAY 19 1955

Approved: [Signature]  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent

M

Per

**SECRET**



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Boardman \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

AIRTEL

Transmit the following TELETYPE message to:

FBI, CHICAGO

4/30/54

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

DIRECTOR, FBI

(AIR MAIL - REGISTERED)

1501

JUNE. STANLEY DAVID LEVISON, SM-C. REMYAIRTEL 4/24/54.

MISUR AND TESUR ROOM 1444A, CONRAD HILTON HOTEL, DISCONTINUED

8:00 PM 4/29/54. INSTALLATION REMOVED 2:00 PM 4/30/54.

ELSUR CG 5959-S\* ASSIGNED TO MISUR AND ELSUR CG 5961-S\* ASSIGNED TO  
TESUR FOR REPORT PURPOSES.

BANISTER

100-27367 Sub-2

TEC:GH

Mr. Tolson

#mdc 16

SP-2 ALM HAT

11-1-00

*This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI*

RECORDED - 75

100-27367-49

IS 10 11:55A

Special Agent in Charge

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : THE DIRECTOR

JUNE

DATE:

April 28, 1954

FROM : A. H. Belmont

SUBJECT: STANLEY D. LEVISON  
Security Matter - C

Tolson ☒  
Ladd ☒  
Clegg ☒  
Glavin ☒  
Nichols ☒  
Rosen ☒  
Tracy ☒  
Harbo ☒  
Mohr ☒  
Tele. Room ☒  
Nease ☒  
Gandy ☒

ASAC Roy Moore of the Chicago Office called at 6:45 p.m., 4/27/54, regarding Levison, who is staying at the Conrad Hilton Hotel. The Bureau had authorized a tel-mike on Levison as he had scheduled important meetings dealing with Communist Party finances. Moore said the installation is working to good effect.

Moore advised that Victor Ludwig, one of the individuals with whom Levison has been meeting, is staying in Room 1344-A at the same hotel and has a meeting for Thursday, April 29th, at 1:30 p.m., with Leon Katzen, Financial Secretary of District #8, who is semi-underground. Moore wanted authority to place a tel-mike in Room 1344-A and wanted to install it immediately.

I explored with him whether a microphone would not be more feasible as only this one meeting is to be covered. He said microphone coverage could be installed with complete security. In view of the time element, and the fact that Levison appears to be taking William Weiner's place as Treasurer of the Communist Party, I told Moore to go ahead with a microphone installation, unless advised to the contrary.

## RECOMMENDATION:

If you approve, Chicago will be permitted to install this microphone.

AHB:CSH

#m216

SP-2 ALM/776

RECEIVED 59

EX-107

13 M

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Mr. Boardman	_____
Mr. Nichols	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Ladd	_____
Mr. Harbo	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tamm	_____
Mr. Tracy	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Winterrowd	_____
Mr. Holloman	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

ATWTEL

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

Transmit the following ~~Teletype~~ message to:

FBI, CHICAGO (100-27367)

APRIL 24, 1954

DIRECTOR, FBI

JUNE. STANLEY DAVID LEVISON; SM-C. TELMIKE SURVEILLANCE INSTALLED

12:30 A.M. APRIL 24, 1954 ON ROOM 1444A CONRAD HILTON HOTEL PHONE

WA 2-4400. FOUR WIRE STATION CORD INSTALLED AND WIRES TO MONITORING

PLANT ROOM 1443A CONCEALED IN TELEPHONE CONDUIT. SYMBOL NUMBER CG 5959-S\* ILL.

ASSIGNED FOR REPORT PURPOSES.

BANISTER

TFC:KW

REGISTERED

Mr. Belmont

RECORDED-53

INDEXED-53

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_



~~SECRET~~

United States Department of Justice  
Federal Bureau of Investigation

Washington 25, D. C.

April 21, 1954

IN REPLY, PLEASE REFER TO

FILE NO. \_\_\_\_\_

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

RE: STANLEY DAVID LEVISON  
SECURITY MATTER - C  
(COMMUNIST UNDERGROUND OPERATIONS)

Information has been received from reliable confidential informants that Stanley David Levison, an important functionary of the Communist movement engaged in secret financial transactions on the part of the Communist Party, has rented two rooms at the Conrad Hilton Hotel in Chicago, Illinois, for April 24, 1954. Further information has been received that Levison will hold a "stockholders" meeting with Harry Miller of the LaSalle Leathers Company, which has been operated for some time with profits going to the Communist Party. It is believed that at this "stockholders" meeting important financial operations of the Communist Party will be discussed.)

In view of the above, it is recommended that you authorize a technical surveillance on Stanley David Levison at these two rooms for the period on or about April 24, 1954, or at any location which may be used by him for this particular meeting.

Respectfully,

*J. Edgar Hoover*  
John Edgar Hoover  
Director

Approved: *JEB*

Date: *4-22-54*

RECORDED - 93

NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION

Unauthorized Disclosure  
Subject to Criminal Sanctions

~~SECRET~~

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : The Director

DATE: April 20, 1954

FROM : Mr. Boardman

JUNE

SUBJECT: STANLEY DAVID LEVISON  
SECURITY MATTER - C  
(COMMUNIST UNDERGROUND OPERATIONS)  
(Bufile 100-392452)

#MDR16

Tolson  
Ladd  
Nichols  
Belmont  
Clegg  
Glavin  
Harbo  
Rosen  
Tracy  
Mohr  
Tele. Rm.  
Nease  
Gandy

11-100

SP-2MKTG

There is attached hereto an airtel from the Chicago Office requesting a telephone-microphone installation on Stanley David Levison who has rented two single rooms at the Conrad Hilton Hotel in Chicago on April 24, 1954.

*Sensitive foreign intelligence operation*

Information has been received through New York Informant NY 694-S that Levison has been furnished part of the financial records of the Communist Party, USA, formerly in the possession of William Weiner, recently deceased. Levison's trip to Chicago is to hold a meeting with Harry Miller of LaSalle Leathers Company, an enterprise from which the Communists benefit, at which time it is believed a discussion will take place concerning financial activities of the Communist Party, USA.

It is imperative that the Bureau cover this meeting at the Conrad Hilton Hotel if at all possible as it is believed extremely pertinent information concerning secret financial operations of the Communist Party will be discussed.

A survey authorized by the Bureau has found that a microphone surveillance is not practical and that a telephone-microphone installation is necessary. Although such an installation will not be legal, it is believed that the intelligence information to be obtained will make such an installation necessary and desirable. The Chicago Office has advised that full security and cooperation are assured through the assistance of former SAC G. R. McSwain who is connected with the Conrad Hilton Hotel.

## RECOMMENDATION:

RECORDED - 93

INDEXED - 93

It is recommended that this technical installation be authorized to cover this meeting on April 24, 1954. If you agree, there is attached hereto a letter to the Attorney General requesting authorization for the installation.

Attachment  
HDB: "33

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AIR-TEL  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

NY, NY; 12/8/54

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Boardman \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

J U N E

Transmit the following Teletype message to: BUREAU...JUNE...URGENT  
JUNE. STANLEY DAVID LEVISON; IS - C. REBUTEL, 12/7/54. SERVICES CT/RY-1070-3  
DISCONTINUED 9:00 AM, 12/8/54.

ELSHR

KELLY

#m de 16  
11-1-00 SP 2 ALM 17/6

③ BUREAU (REGISTERED MAIL)

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Mr. Tolson

RECORDED-38

CJS:JH (#7-1)  
100-111180-Sub 2

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

SECRET

3/19/54

NEW YORK, NEW YORK

JUNE

Transmit the following Teletype message to: BUREAU - JUNE - URGENT

JUNE. STANLEY DAVID LEVISON; IS-C. REQUARTTEL 2/24/54 GRANTING AUTHORITY

TO INSTALL TESUR ON SUBJECT'S RESIDENCE, 309 W. 104th ST. NYC, TELEPHONE,

TELEPHONE 2-7504. TESUR INSTALLED 2:20 P.M., 3/19/54. SYMBOL NUMBER

NY-1070-S. COVERAGE AT SUTEC.

EL SUR Location (S)

CLASSIFIED BY SP-2 ALM/TTB  
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X

KELLY

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the contents may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of

BUREAU (REGISTERED MAIL)

RCB:VLG  
100-111130-3ub 2

RECORDED-34

MAR 20 1954

INDEXED-34

Approved: Special Agent in Charge

Sent M Per

SECRET





# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : THE DIRECTOR

DATE: February 18, 1954

FROM : MR. D. M. LADD

J U N E

SUBJECT: STANLEY DAVID LEVISON  
SECURITY MATTER - C  
Bureau File 100-392452

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Gearty \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
 Sizoo \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

The New York Office has requested authority to install a technical surveillance on the residence of Stanley David Levison at 309 West 104th Street, New York City, telephone number Monument 2-7504, as an aid in following the underground operations and financial activities of the Communist Party USA in New York City.

Levison is reported to be acting as assistant to William Weiner in controlling the finances of the Communist Party. He has contributed large sums of money to the Communist Party and is affiliated with a number of business enterprises from the profits of which funds are reportedly supplied to the Communist Party. Some of these enterprises are reported to be Trade Clearing Corporation, Atlantic Coast Realty Corporation and Park Management Company all of New York City, Sunset Plates Incorporated, California, and La Salle Leather Company, Chicago. He has been engaged in the export and import business. He is on the Security Index.

## RECOMMENDATION:

That the attached memorandum be sent to the Attorney General requesting authority to install a technical surveillance on Levison.

RECORDED - 13

FEB 25 1954

## Attachment

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

SSC Request 10/6/75

Item 5

b. (Hunter Pitts O'Dell)

Retain

#mde 16  
11-1-00 SD-2 Alm 1/8/76

1008

Some fine knc

FBI

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-247898)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-91330)

SUBJECT: HUNTER PITTS O'DELL  
IS-C; ISA-50

Re Bureau airtel, 10/6/64.

<sup>ELSVR</sup>  
 [NY 4171-S\*] covering residence of subject discontinued  
 12:00 noon, 10/7/64.

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

3 - Bureau (100-247898) (RM)  
 1 - New York (100-91330) (42)

JJK:gmd  
 (5)

REC-15  
 100-358916-300  
 18 OCT 8 1964

C.C. Wick  
 100-247898

C.B. Wick  
 100-247898

CONCHUE  
 100-247898

6 OCT 10 1964

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

Date: 10/17/63

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-358916)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-91330)

SUBJECT: HUNTER PITTS O'DELL  
IS-C; ISA-50  
(OO: NY)

# mode 16  
11-1-00  
SP-2 ALM/HAG  
JUNE

ELSVR  
CONF. INTEL  
NY

On 10/16/63, at 11:45 AM, NY 4171-S\* installed to cover AD 4-4044, listed to JAMES E. CAMPBELL, 488 St. Nicholas Avenue, New York, New York (residence of HUNTER PITTS O'DELL).

Full security assured.

*This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.*

- 3 - Bureau (100-358916) (RM)
- 1 - New York (100-91330) (414)

JFO:gmd  
(5)

C. G. Wick

REC-22

100-358916-273

24  
OCT 18 1963

CONF. INTEL

DOUGLUE



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No. (IS) 100-353916

October 2, 1963

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

RE: HUNTER PITAS O'DELL

In connection with our investigation of Communist Party activities in the United States, we have received information that the subject, [a secret member of the National Committee,] Communist Party, USA, has been considered by the Party as an individual [to be placed in charge of an office of the Party-inspired publication "Freedomways" which is to be opened in Atlanta, Georgia. This office will also serve as headquarters for Party work in the South.] Subject's extensive Communist Party background and his recent association with Martin Luther King and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference indicate the likelihood he is a key individual involved with the efforts of the Communist Party, USA, to extend its influence into the Negro integration movement.

It is requested that you authorize technical surveillance coverage on the subject at 488 Saint Nicholas Avenue, New York, New York, or at any address to which he may move in the future.

\* SENSITIVE Foreign  
INTELLIGENCE OPERATION

Respectfully,

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

APPROVED

DATE

NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION  
Unauthorized Disclosure  
Subject to Criminal Sanctions

TOP SECRET  
GROUP 1  
Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

OCT 10 1963

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11/1/00 BY SP2ALM/1206

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: October 1, 1963

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner

SUBJECT: HUNTER PITTS O'DELL  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. Donohue
- 1 - Mr. Forsyth
- 1 - Mr. Ryan

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

JUNE

My memorandum dated 9/13/63 recommended a survey be conducted to determine the feasibility of a technical surveillance (tesur) on the residence of O'Dell in New York City. The New York Office has conducted this survey and advised a tesur is feasible with full security. It is recommended the attached letter be forwarded to the Attorney General to obtain approval for this tesur.

Hunter Pitts O'Dell was <sup>\*</sup>secretly elected to the National Committee, Communist Party, USA, at the Party's last National Convention in December, 1959. <sup>\*</sup>In July, 1962, Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, described O'Dell as representing the National Committee, Communist Party, USA, and as the "brain trust" for Martin Luther King, leader of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). O'Dell is a close associate and confident of Stanley Levison, secret Communist Party member and contributor, and was recommended to King by Levison to take charge of the New York office of the SCLC. Newspapers publicized O'Dell's communist background in late 1962 and although King announced O'Dell's resignation, he continued his employ with the SCLC. In July, 1963, after additional publicity King again announced that O'Dell had severed all connections with the SCLC, although our investigation determined O'Dell was the recipient of SCLC funds and he visited the building housing the SCLC after King's announcement. <sup>\*</sup>Recent data indicates the Party plans to have an office of the communist-inspired publication "Freedomways" opened in Atlanta, Georgia, with O'Dell in charge and that this office will serve as headquarters for Party work in the South. <sup>\*</sup>

In view of O'Dell's Party background and his known interest in the integration movement, there is a strong presumption he is a key individual involved with the efforts of the Communist Party, USA, to extend its influence into the Negro integration movement.

100-358916  
Enc. 10-2-6 3  
DR:bgc  
(7)

REC-23

\* Security Foreign  
Intelligence operations  
FILE

267

5-Report

OCT 1 1963

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

Memorandum to Mr. Sullivan  
RE: HUNTER PITTS O'DELL  
100-358916

We presently have [57] investigative-type tesurs  
installed and [2] are awaiting installation. The limit for this  
type of tesur is [75]

ACTION:

It is recommended the attached letter be forwarded  
to the Attorney General to obtain approval for this tesur.

CBR  
DR Rm  
Jan  
Wel  
JF  
10/11  
10/12  
Q

SSC Request 10/6/75

Item 5

c. (Clarence Jones)

Retain

#mdel6  
11-1-00 SP2 ALM/HB

1008

Some fine work



REQUIRES  
MANY  
FILES  
TO BE  
REVIEWED

JUN & MARZ  
100-407d8

ORIGINAL  
IN

66-8160-2890

M  
F  
S  
S  
F  
O  
N  
S

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

11/29/66

CODE

TELETYPE

REC- 44

URGENT

11-21602890

1 - Mr. Rozamus

TO SAC, NEW YORK

FROM DIRECTOR, FBI

SENT BY CODED TELETYPE

TELEPHONE SURVEILLANCES JUNE.

IMMEDIATELY DISCONTINUE ALL TELEPHONE SURVEILLANCES IN FOLLOWING CASES: \*CHU TING-MIN, GASTON ESPINAL MACEO, \*HARLEM PROGRESSIVE LABOR CLUB, CLARENCE BENJAMIN JONES, ISIDORE GIBBY \*NEEDLEMAN, NORMAN JOHN REES, JOSEPH ULVER, BAKRAM M. DARIAN, LEMENT BACON HARRIS, \*SANG HENG-KANG, \*IRAQI MISSION TO THE UNITED NATIONS (UN), \*MALI MISSION TO THE UN, \*MONGOLIAN MISSION TO THE UN, \*SOVIET MISSION TO THE UN (RESIDENCE OF PERSONNEL - MILLER ESTATE), \*SOVIET MISSION TO THE UN (RESIDENCE OF PERSONNEL - PRATT ESTATE), AND SYRIAN MISSION TO THE UN. *sensitive foreign intelligence operations*

SUTEL DATE AND TIME DISCONTINUED.

MJR:deh/sss  
(3)

## NOTE:

In accordance with Director's instructions, we are decreasing our telephone surveillance coverage to 20 in domestic intelligence cases and 60 foreign intelligence cases. Files have been reviewed and the above are those to be discontinued in order to come within the ceiling. Teletype necessary in view of urgency of this matter.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Wick \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☒

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 211

NOV 25 1966

FBI NEW YORK ///09///

7:00 PM EST URGENT 11/29/66 M.F.R.

TO DIRECTOR

FROM NEW YORK -1P- //// ENCODED ////

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Wick	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

JUNE

TELEPHONE SURVEILLANCES.

*12/6/66 To  
Specified 130 phone  
Surveillance  
of Dir. of Sec. Service  
Spec. Oversight on  
Darian*

*Mr. P. R. ...  
90 ...  
2*

REBUTEL ELEVEN TWENTYNINE SIXTYSIX.

ALL TELEPHONE SURVEILLANCES AS SET FORTH IN BUTEL DISCONTINUED  
SIX PM ELEVEN TWENTYNINE SIXTYSIX EXCEPT ISIDORE GIBBY NEEDLEMAN, WHICH  
WILL BE DISCONTINUED AS SOON AS SECURITY PERMITS.

REC-44

END

*FEB 1 1967*

\* CHU TING-MIN - *Indonesian*  
GASTON ESPINAL MACEO - *Spain*  
HARLEM PROGRESSIVE LABOR CLUB - *Indonesian*  
CLARENCE BENJAMIN JONES - *Indonesian*  
ISIDORE GIBBY NEEDLEMAN - *Indonesian*  
NORMAN JOHN REES - *Indonesian*  
JOSEPH ULVER - *Indonesian*  
BAHRAM M. DARIAN - *Indonesian*  
LEMENT BACON HARRIS - *Indonesian*  
SANG HENG-KANG - *Indonesian*  
IRAQI MISSION TO THE UNITED NATIONS - *Indonesian*  
MALI MISSION TO THE UN - *Indonesian*  
MONGOLIAN MISSION TO THE UN - *Indonesian*  
SOVIET MISSION TO THE UN (RESIDENCE OF PERSONNEL -  
MILLER ESTATE)  
SOVIET MISSION TO THE UN (RESIDENCE OF PERSONNEL -  
PRATT ESTATE)  
SYRIAN MISSION TO THE UN - *Indonesian*

WA..REY

FBI WASH DC

*sensitive foreign  
intelligence operations*

*5- wjr*

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

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F B I

Date: 4/14/66

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL

Via \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-407018)  
 FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-73250-Sub 2)  
 SUBJECT: CLARENCE JONES  
 SM-C  
 (OO: NY)

JUNE

Re Bureau airtel, 2/11/66.

Information received from ELSUR [NY 4092-S\*] during the period since JONES moved to the Coliseum Building to the Intramerican Life Corp. office does not warrant its retention. Accordingly, [NY 4092-S\*] is being discontinued as of 5:00 p.m., 4/14/66.

ELSUR

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REC-82

100-407018-96

3-Bureau (100-407018) (RM)  
 1-New York (100-73250-Sub 2)  
 JFO:rmv  
 (5)

15 APR 15 1966

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

F B I

Date: 3/15/66

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-407018)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-73250-SUB 2)

JUNESUBJECT: CLARENCE JONES  
SM-C  
(OO: NY)

ReBuairtel, 2/11/66, and New York airtel, 3/4/66.

~~CONF. MAT.~~ <sup>EL SUR</sup> NY 5496-S\* installed 6:15 PM, 3/14/66, at 10 Columbus Circle, on JONES' business office, Intramerican Life Corporation. Coverage presently includes CI 5-0730, CI 5-0731 and CI 5-0732. Efforts continuing to include CI 5-0733 in coverage. Bureau will be advised of date of inclusion of this number. Full security is assured.

*This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.*

3 - Bureau (100-407018) (RM)  
1 - New York (100-73250-SUB 2) (42)

JFO:gmd  
(5)

REC-10

100-407018-74

2 MAR 14 1966

CC: Wick

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M

Per \_\_\_\_\_

ROZINS

SPEC. IN CH.

F B I

Date: 8/18/65

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL

Via \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-407018)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-73250-Sub 2)

SUBJECT: CLARENCE BENJAMIN JONES  
SM-C  
(OC: NY)

J U N E

# mdr 16

SP 2 ALM HJG

11-100

ELSUR

[NY 5182-S\*] installed 8/18/65. Tesur includes the  
unlisted #543-6533 and regular #543-9594. Full security assured.  
Bureau will be kept advised.

*This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized persons without the express approval of the FBI.*

REC- 61

100-407018-75

3 - Bureau (RM)  
1 - New York

NPD: jec  
(5)

25 AUG 19 1965

SUBV. CONTROL

DONOHUE

SPEC. MAIL RM

Approved: 6-6-1965  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

6 AUG 27 1965

FBI

Date: 2/28/64

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-407018)  
FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-73250-SUB 2)  
SUBJECT: CLARENCE BENJAMIN JONES  
SM-C

JUNE

Re New York FD 143 to Bureau, 2/19/64.

ELSUR

[NY 4096-S\*] discontinued on this date at 12:00 noon.  
Inasmuch as there has not been sufficient information developed  
by this source, it is being discontinued.

*This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.*

EX-115

REC-16

- 3 - Bureau (100-407018) (RM)  
1 - New York (100-73250-SUB 2) (414)

JCS:gmd  
(5)

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

61 MAR 10 1964

FBI

JUNE

Date: 8/5/63

**SECRET**Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

UNLESS SHOWN OTHERWISE

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-407018)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-73250 Sub 2)

SUBJECT: CLARENCE BENJAMIN JONES  
SM - C

ReBuairtel 7/23/63.

Tesur installed at 5505 Independence Ave.,  
Bronx, NY, subject's residence, telephone number KI 9-2804,  
at 2:35 pm this date. Full security assured. NY symbol  
number [NY 4099-S\*] assigned and is being handled by [Sutec,  
NYO.]

ELSUR

(5)

LOCATION

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ation outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by  
your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized person-  
nel without the express approval of the F. I.

C. Wick

3 - Bureau (100-407018) (RM)

1 - New York (100-73250 Sub 2)

JPD: mbg  
(5)**SECRET**Approved: 15 AUG 1963  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M

Per \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge



F B I

Date: 8/1/63

Transmit the following in SECRET

(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-407018)

JUNE

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-73250-Sub 2)

SUBJECT: CLARENCE BENJAMIN JONES  
SM-C#MDP/6 10/2/00  
CLASSIFIED ON: 5/2/00  
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X1

ReBuairtel, 7/23/63.

Authorized tesurs on six lines covering the  
following phones installed 5:50 PM, 7/29/63:BEEKMAN 3-3690  
BEEKMAN 3-5660  
BEEKMAN 3-5661  
BEEKMAN 3-8340  
BEEKMAN 3-8341  
Coded Trunk G-55These phones are located at the offices of  
Lubell, Lubell and Jones, 165 Broadway, NYC. NYO utilizing  
symbol number NY 4092-S\* for these six lines.~~NY 4092-S\*~~ ELSURAuthorized tesurs on three lines covering the  
following telephone numbers installed 3:15 PM, 7/30/63:2 - Bureau (100-407018) (RM) REC-39  
1 - New York (100-73250-Sub 2)JPD:kmk  
(5)

12 AUG 2 1963

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

SECRET

NY 100-73250-Sub 2

LEXington 2-2989  
LEXington 2-2990  
LEXington 2-2991

These phones are located at the office of the Ghandi Society for Human Rights, 15 E. 40th St., NYC. NYO utilizing symbol number [NY 4096-S#] for these three lines.

~~SECRET~~ E154V

Full security assured and all above tesurs .  
being monitored by [Sutec NYO] (S)  
[LOCATION]

Lease lines for subject's residence are presently being constructed by NY Telephone Company. Bureau will be advised as soon as this tesur on subject's residence can be established.

- 2 -

SECRET

SSC Request 10/6/75

Item 5

f. (Student Non-Violent Coordinating  
Committee (SNCC))

Retain

#MOE 16  
11-100 SP-2 ALM 1/75

1008

Jane

F B I

Date: 8/5/65

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

AIRMAIL

(Priority)

J U N E

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-439190)  
 FROM : SAC, ATLANTA (100-6488-D)  
 SUBJECT : COMINFIL OF SNCC  
 IS - C

Re Atlanta airtel dated 7/9/65,  
 captioned as above, and phone call 8/5/65 from  
 Inspector FRED BAUMGARDNER.

This is to advise that as of  
 4:10 p.m., 8/5/65 TESURS designated as [AT 1388-S\*]  
 and [AT 1389-S\*] have been discontinued.

ELSUR

ELSUR

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

3 - Bureau (RM)

1 - Atlanta

REC-54

8 AUG 6 1965

CTH:mel  
 (4)

EX-101

memo for HG  
 7/11/65  
 SFP:del

DONAHUE

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

M

Per \_\_\_\_\_

F B I

Date: 7/9/65

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL  
(Priority)J U N E

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-439190)

FROM : SAC, ATLANTA (100-6488-D)

SUBJECT : COMINFIL OF SNCC  
IS - C

ReBuairtel to Atlanta 6/24/65. ✓

Installation completed this date.

I. Symbol Number AT 1388-S\* is assigned  
to the following five telephone numbers:

688-0331  
688-0332  
688-0333  
688-0335  
688-0338

These phones are located in the headquarters office of SNCC at 360-62 Nelson Street, S. W., Atlanta, Georgia. Leased line obtained from 25 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta, Georgia, to 300 West Peachtree Street, N. W. in order to effect necessary coverage.

The above five phone numbers are in rotary series, and for this reason only one Symbol Number designated.

- ③ - Bureau (RM)  
2 - Atlanta

CSH:mel  
(5)

REC- 52

ST-101

JUL 12 1965

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be released to unauthorized persons without the express approval of the FBI.

#mpe16  
SP-2 ALM 1/10B  
H-1-00

100-439190-430  
JUL 12 1965  
DONOFRUE  
INT. SEC.  
SPEC. MAIL DEL.

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

AT 100-6488-D

~~REDACTED~~ ELSUR

II. [AT 1389-S\*] is assigned to WATS Line 084-2864. This WATS Line is designated for use in thirty-eight (38) continental states. The phone is located in headquarters of SNCC located at 360-62 Nelson Street, S. W., Atlanta, Georgia. Leased line was obtained from 25 Auburn Avenue to 300 West Peachtree Street, N. W., Atlanta, Georgia, in order to effect coverage.

Monitoring operations instituted, results of which will be furnished the Bureau. Origin and termination of leased lines in above installation are identical; namely, 25 Auburn Avenue to 300 West Peachtree Street.

- 2 -

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge



~~SECRET~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to

File No. (IS) 100-439190

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

June 15, 1965

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

RE: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF STUDENT  
NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE  
INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST

The Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee has been described by confidential informants as the principal target for Communist Party infiltration among the various civil rights organizations. John Lewis, Chairman, and James Forman, Executive Secretary, have made public appearances with leaders of communist-front groups. John Lewis has been reported by reliable informants as stating he will accept any individuals, including communists, into his organization. This and related investigations have identified individuals with subversive backgrounds who hold key positions in the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee.

The Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee maintains its headquarters at 8½ Raymond Street, Northwest, Atlanta, Georgia, and is in the process of moving to 360-362 Nelson Street, Southwest, Atlanta, Georgia.

Authority is requested for the installation of a technical surveillance on the above headquarters of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee and at any new location to which it may move in the future.

Respectfully,

*J. Edgar Hoover*  
REC-28 100-439190-4  
John Edgar Hoover  
Director 6 JUL 6 1965

NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION  
Unauthorized Disclosure  
Subject to Criminal Sanctions

APPROVED *mbk*  
DATE *6/18/65*

EX-113

~~SECRET~~

GROUP 1  
Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

*This should not be continued unless we actually develop useful info of a subversive type - mbk*

*airtel - AT  
6/24/65  
SFP:dek*

6<sup>th</sup> JUL 15 1965

*#m Del 6*  
DECLASSIFIED BY SP-2 ALM/216  
ON 11-1-00

MEMORANDUM FOR THE DIRECTOR  
JUNE 14 1965

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

TO : Mr. DeLoach

DATE: 6/14/65

FROM : F. J. Baumgardner

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Conrad
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. Donohue
- 1 - Mr. Martin

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF STUDENT  
NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE  
INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST

#moelb

11-1-00

SP2ALM/BTC

Atlanta Office has completed a technical survey of the headquarters of captioned organization and advises that a technical surveillance may be installed at this location under secure conditions. Atlanta recommends that this installation be made in the building occupied by an answering service utilized by this organization since this location is remote from the headquarters building. This surveillance will be monitored in the existing technical plant located outside the Atlanta Office.

The Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee has been the principal target for communist infiltration among the various civil rights organizations. John Lewis, the Chairman, has stated that he will accept any individuals, including communists, into the organization. He has publicly identified himself with Communist Party members and as recently as April, 1965, he spoke at an affair sponsored by "Freedomways" in tribute to Paul Robeson. On that occasion, he described Robeson as the spiritual father of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee and referred to his many years of "persecution" by the Government. On April 30, 1965, James Forman, the Executive Secretary, met with Martin Luther King, Jr., Harry Belafonte and Clarence Jones to iron out differences existing between the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. At that time Forman refused to go along with King's proposal that they make a public statement renouncing communism.

During the course of this and related investigations, such as the Mississippi Summer Project, we have developed evidence of communist participation in civil rights activities sponsored by this organization. At the present time, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee is preparing to send several thousand individuals into Alabama, Mississippi and Arkansas in connection with voter registration efforts. Since all this activity will be directed through their headquarters in Atlanta, a technical installation would provide excellent coverage of any efforts by the Communist Party or Communist Party members to direct these civil rights activities. This source would supplement the

100-439190

Enclosure

REC-21

EX-113

JUL 1 1965

395

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.



Memorandum to Mr. Sullivan  
Re: Communist Infiltration of Student  
Non-Violent Coordinating Committee  
100-439100

coverage we now have on the headquarters of Martin Luther King, Jr., in Atlanta which has furnished very valuable information regarding the contacts made by King and his associates with subversive individuals.

ACTION:

Attached for approval is a memorandum to the Attorney General requesting his authority for a technical surveillance on headquarters of this organization. It is noted that no prosecutive action involving this organization is contemplated at the present time. We now have [60] investigative-type technical installations in operation; [12] are awaiting installation. The limit on such technical installations is [75].

*Ways* *V. MB/r* *J*  
*OK* *St*  
*Def 2/22*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

## ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

JUNE

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: July 22, 1963

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner

1 - Mr. Belmont  
 1 - Mr. Evans  
 1 - Mr. Rosen  
 1 - Mr. Sullivan  
 1 - Mr. Baumgardner  
 1 - Mr. Bland  
 1 - Mr. Donohue  
 1 - Mr. Shaw

SUBJECT: CLARENCE BENJAMIN JONES  
 SECURITY MATTER - COMMUNIST

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
 Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
 DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
 Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
 Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
 Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

This is a recommendation requesting the Attorney General's authority for the installation of a technical surveillance covering the home telephone of Clarence Benjamin Jones, as well as the telephones covering Jones's law firm and the Ghandi Society for Human Rights, a Negro welfare organization in which Jones plays a very active part.

You will recall that on 7/16/63 the Attorney General advised Assistant Director Evans that in view of the possible communist influence in the racial situation, he desired that consideration be given to placing a technical surveillance on Martin Luther King, leader of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and Clarence Benjamin Jones, a New York City attorney, who is closely associated with King. The Attorney General indicated he was not concerned with the repercussions if it should ever become known that such surveillances had been put into effect and that he thought it advisable to have as complete coverage as possible.

Jones resides at 5505 Independence Avenue, Bronx, New York, and is a partner in the law firm of Lubell, Lubell and Jones, 165 Broadway, New York City. He is the General Counsel for the Ghandi Society for Human Rights, 15 East 40th Street, New York City, an organization formed to lend support to Martin Luther King. Jones is on the Reserve Index. He is extremely active in racial matters and serves as the Counsel for Martin Luther King. In 1953-54 Jones was an active member of the Labor Youth League, an organization cited as subversive under Executive Order 10450. He has recently been in frequent contact with Communist Party, USA, leaders in New York City concerning racial matters.

Pursuant to the Attorney General's request that consideration be given to placing a technical surveillance on Jones, our New York Office was requested to conduct a survey to ascertain if such coverage is feasible and could be conducted with full security. New York teletype 7/19/63 discloses that technical surveillance coverage on Jones's residence, law firm and the Ghandi Society for Human Rights, where Jones spends a great deal of time, is feasible and can be conducted with full security.

Enc. sent 7-22-63  
 100-407018

WGS:kmj  
 (9)

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

Memorandum to Mr. Sullivan  
RE: CLARENCE BENJAMIN JONES  
100-407018

At present there are [57] investigative-type technical surveillances in operation and [6] being installed. The limit is [75]

The Atlanta Office has been requested to conduct a survey relative to the feasibility of placing a technical surveillance on Martin Luther King and as soon as this survey is completed a recommendation will be made relative to instituting coverage on King.

OBSERVATION:

In view of the Attorney General's request that our coverage be as complete as possible, it is felt that we should institute coverage not only on Jones's residence but also his law office and the Ghandi Society for Human Rights.

RECOMMENDATION:

That the attached memorandum for the Attorney General go forward requesting authority to install a technical surveillance on Jones's residence; law firm; and the Ghandi Society for Human Rights.

*WEL* *JHL* *OK*  
*JP* *WEL* *OK* *OK* *V*



~~SECRET~~  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No. 100-407018

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

July 22, 1963

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

RE: CLARENCE BENJAMIN JONES  
SECURITY MATTER - C

Clarence Benjamin Jones resides at 5505 Independence Avenue, Bronx, New York. He is a partner in the law firm of Lubell, Lubell and Jones, 165 Broadway, New York City. Jones is also the General Counsel for the Ghandi Society for Human Rights, 15 East 40th Street, New York City, an organization formed to lend support to Martin Luther King, the leader of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

In 1953-54 Jones was an active member of the Labor Youth League, an organization cited as subversive under Executive Order 10450. He has recently been in frequent contact with Communist Party, USA, leaders in New York City concerning racial matters.

Pursuant to your request that in view of the possible communist influence in the racial situation consideration be given to placing a technical surveillance on Jones, it is requested that authority be granted to place a technical surveillance on Jones at his current residence, 5505 Independence Avenue, Bronx, New York; at his law office, 165 Broadway, New York City; and at the Ghandi Society for Human Rights, 15 East 40th Street, New York City.

Respectfully,

*J. Edgar Hoover*  
John Edgar Hoover  
Director

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

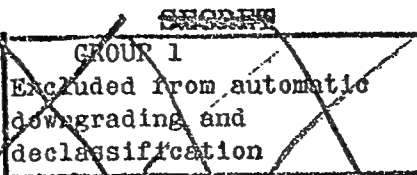
DATE 1-23-81 BY SP-12SK/BA/SM

APPROVED *W. H. [Signature]*  
DATE 7-23-63

REC-62

22 JUL 26 1963

XEROX COPY  
7-9-66



6 JUL 31 1963

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

SSC Request 10/6/75

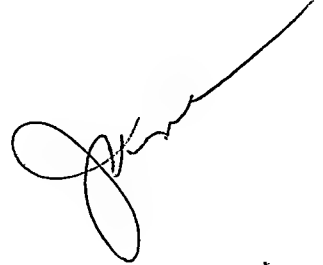
Item 5

h. (Bayard Rustin)

Retain

#mde16  
11-1-00 SP2A2m/PTB

see  
1008



F B I

Date: 1/27/66

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-153735)

JUNE

SUBJECT: CIRM  
IS-C

#MDR16

12/00 SP2ALM/216

ReBuairtel, 1/26/66, directing New York to  
discontinue NY 4212-S\*

ELSUR

On 1/27/66, at 12:00 Noon, the source was  
discontinued.

91

1 E O F R B

- 3 - Bureau (100-442529) (RM)
- 1 - New York (100-153735) (42)

REC-18

JMK:gmd  
(5)

memo to AS dated 2-8-66

RFB/leh.

3 JAN 28 1966

2-24

W. T. Wick

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

BOZANUS  
INT. SEC.

SPEC. MAIL RM.

FBI

Date: 11/18/63

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-116)  
FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-151548)  
SUBJECT: CPUSA  
NEGRO QUESTION  
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE  
IN RACIAL MATTERS  
IS-C  
(OO: NY)

#mod 16  
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11/2/00 BY SP2 ALM/KLB

JUNE

ReBuairtel to NY dated 11/1/63.

Tesur, BAYARD RUSTIN, 340 W. 28th St., apt. 9J,  
NYC, YU 9-9890, installed 4:15 p.m., 11/15/63. Symbol  
Number NY 4212-S\* assigned.

CONF. INFT.

XEROX

NOV 22 1963

EX-103  
REC-23

11/18/63

22

25 NOV 1963

3-Bureau (100-3-116) (RM)  
1-New York (100-151548) (414)  
JCS:rmv  
(5)

*[Handwritten signatures and initials]*  
100-151548-529  
NOV 22 1963  
SPEC. MAIL

6 *[Signature]*  
Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

CC - FILE

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized persons without the express approval of the FBI.



~~SECRET~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No. 100-3-116

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

October 28, 1963

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

#253760  
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 8/5/86 BY SP-5 C/LR

RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
NEGRO QUESTION  
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Bayard Rustin resides at Apartment 9J, 340 West 28th Street, New York, New York. Rustin, who was the Deputy Director of the August 28, 1963, March on Washington, continues to participate in the current Negro struggle for civil rights. According to a confidential source who has furnished reliable information in the past, Benjamin J. Davis, National Secretary, Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), while at a recent meeting of the National Board, CPUSA, indicated that he is maintaining liaison with Rustin. Davis also commented recently, according to this same source, that the Negroes are now willing to know what the Communist Party has to say and to welcome whatever support the communists can give "in this new stage, which is how to break the resistance of the Dixiecrats and how to stop the McCarran Act."

In order to obtain further information concerning the plans of the CPUSA relating to influence in racial matters, it is requested that authority be granted to place a technical surveillance on the residence of Bayard Rustin or on any future residence to which he moves.

Respectfully,

*John Edgar Hoover*  
John Edgar Hoover  
Director

APPROVED *[Signature]*

DATE 10/31/63

EX-116

REC 37-100-3-116-458

NOV 5 1963

~~SECRET~~

GROUP 1  
Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. It is not to be used to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.



## Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan J U N E

DATE: October 25, 1963

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA

NEGRO QUESTION.

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS

INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST

1 - Mr. Belmont  
 1 - Mr. Evans  
 1 - Mr. Sullivan  
 1 - Mr. Baumgardner  
 1 - Mr. Bland  
 1 - Mr. Donohue  
 1 - Mr. Denz

Tolson  
 Belmont  
 Mohr  
 Casper  
 Callahan  
 Conrad  
 DeLoach  
 Evans  
 Gale  
 Rosen  
 Sullivan  
 Tavel  
 Trotter  
 Tele. Room  
 Holmes  
 Gandy

This is a recommendation requesting the Attorney General's authority for installation of a technical surveillance (tesur) on the residence of Bayard Rustin, Apartment 9J, 340 West 28th Street, New York, New York.

Background

Bayard Rustin, at one time an ardent pacifist, reportedly joined the Young Communist League in 1936. In a speech in 1950 he stated he was a former Communist Party (CP) member. Rustin, who was the Deputy Director of the 8/28/63 March on Washington, has been arrested on several occasions for activities in connection with racial demonstrations. He was secretary to Martin Luther King, Jr., 1956 to 1960 and recent information indicates he may take a position in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. On 9/20/63 Rustin contacted Benjamin J. Davis, National Secretary, Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), at which time they (Rustin and Davis) mutually agreed to get together for further personal discussions. At a meeting of the National Board, CPUSA held on 9/25/63, Davis stated that Rustin calls him constantly. Davis recently commented that the Negroes are now willing to know what the CP has to say and will welcome whatever support and leadership communists can give.

Observations

The increasing importance attached to communist influence in racial matters necessitates our giving all aspects of this matter preferred attention. Coverage of contacts between Party functionaries and recognized leaders in the current Negro struggle for civil rights is one of the most important goals of our investigations. It is imperative that we penetrate the Party's liaison with Rustin in order to stay on top of this matter. The requested tesur should afford excellent coverage not only of the Party influence on Rustin, but also furnish current information concerning influential leaders in the current Negro struggle who are considered sympathetic and receptive to an approach by the Party. This information is not otherwise available.

Enc. 2  
 100-3-116  
 1 - 100-158790 (Rustin)

RCD:kmj (9) This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

Memorandum to Mr. Sullivan  
RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
NEGRO QUESTION  
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS  
100-3-116

At present there are 55 investigative tesurs in operation plus 15 others which are pending, for a total of 70.

RECOMMENDATION:

That the attached memorandum for the Attorney General go forward requesting authority to install a tesur on Bayard Rustin.

*[Handwritten signatures and initials: "W.C. Sullivan", "J.H. [unclear]", "OK", "K", and a checkmark]*

SSC LETTER 10-6-75

ITEM 6

#MDR16  
11-1-00 SP2 ALM/716

*Retained*

*See 1008*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO : W. C. Sullivan

FROM : J. F. Bland

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING  
SECURITY MATTER - C  
RACIAL MATTERS

1 - Belmont

1 - Mohr

1 - DeLoach

1 - Evans

1 - Rosen

1 - Sullivan

DATE: July 13, 1963

1 - Bland

1 - McGowan

1 - Forsyth

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
 Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
 DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
 Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
 Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
 Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

The "Evening Star" of 7/12 and the "Washington Post" of 7/13/63 state that Governor Ross R. Barnett of Mississippi testified on 7/12/63 before the Senate Commerce Committee in opposition to a proposed public accommodations bill.

According to the newspapers, Governor Barnett, during his testimony, held up a printed sheet containing a picture and titled "Martin Luther King at Communist Training School." Governor Barnett said the picture showed King and some persons identified on the sheet as communists at a school in Tennessee. In this connection, Senator Mike Monroney (D - Oklahoma) asked Governor Barnett if he had checked the picture and the printed allegations with the FBI. Governor Barnett said he had not but suggested that the Committee might want to do so.

This printed sheet is undoubtedly a flier which consists of a picture of a group of individuals seated in an auditorium, one of whom is Martin Luther King, and actually relates to a 1957 Labor Day week end seminar at the Highlander Folk School (HFS), Monteagle, Tennessee, which was attended by King. According to a publication circulated extensively by the Georgia Commission on Education, which allegedly had an "undercover" agent in attendance, the seminar "was held to discuss methods and tactics for precipitating racial strife and disturbances." The publication further characterized the HFS as a "communist training school."

FBI files concerning the HFS show that this school was the subject of a security investigation which was closed in 1943. Information was developed that Communist Party (CP) members had been on the school staff and the school had followed the practice of welcoming communists as students. No information was developed that the school offered courses of instruction on communism nor that the CP ever succeeded in gaining control of the school. Due to its interracial character, however, the HFS has been the subject of numerous past allegations that it represents the headquarters for communism in Eastern Tennessee.

JFB:ams  
(10)

ENCLOSURE

REC-9

6 JUL 22 1963

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

2 AUG 1963

Memorandum to Mr. Sullivan  
Re: MARTIN LUTHER KING

On 6/28/63 Departmental attorneys in preparing material for the Attorney General asked concerning this flier and were referred to the above information concerning the flier as furnished to the Attorney General on 5/23/61.

The Bureau has not been asked for any information concerning the flier by the Senate Committee; however, press inquiries have been received concerning the matter and have been answered "No Comment" by Mr. DeLoach's Office.

ACTION:

None. For information.

K

gmc  
JMB  
JMB  
AP  
Be

# Red 'Rights Plot' Seen By Barnett

## Negro Movement Called Conspiracy To Divide Nation

By Richard L. Lyons  
Staff Reporter

Gov. Ross R. Barnett of Mississippi charged yesterday that Negro demonstrations for equal rights are "largely Communist-inspired," part of a world conspiracy "to divide and conquer our country from within."

He also told the Senate Commerce Committee that President Kennedy and his brother, Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, have encouraged demonstrations and are "sowing the seeds of hate and violence" from which the Nation "could reap a bloody harvest."

Barnett was challenged by Democrats on the Committee on both counts, and was chided by Chairman Warren G. Magnuson (D-Wash.) as being "off base" in equating the merits of legislations with the views of some who profess to be for it.

The Governor, symbol of all-out resistance to desegregation, was invited by Sen. Strom Thurmond (D-S. C.) to testify on the President's bill to bar discrimination in public accommodations. Barnett said its passage would mean the "complete end of constitutional government in America" and "racial violence of unimaginable scope."

### Monroney Disagrees

Sen. A. S. Mike Monroney (D-Okla.) was the first to strongly disagree with Barnett that the President or Attorney General were encouraging demonstrations or sowing hatred.

Barnett said he based that on the President's civil rights speech to the Nation last month, which Barnett interpreted as encouraging demonstrations. Monroney asked for proof that a Communist conspiracy is behind the Negroes' fight for rights.

Barnett held up a printed sheet containing a picture and titled "Martin Luther King at Communist Training School." Barnett said the picture showed King and some persons identified on the sheet as Communists at a school in Tennessee.

Monroney asked Barnett if he had checked the picture and the printed allegations with the FBI. Barnett said he had not, but suggested that the Committee might want to do so.

"I feel it does a great disservice," said Monroney, "to try to brush off these demonstrations as part of a foreign conspiracy. I don't think this Committee feels there is a

See RIGHTS, A4, Col 3

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

#7-216  
SP-2 ALM 1/3/63  
11-1-00

*[Handwritten signature]*

PA-1

The Washington Post and Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_  
The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_  
The Evening Star \_\_\_\_\_  
New York Herald Tribune \_\_\_\_\_  
New York Journal-American \_\_\_\_\_  
New York Mirror \_\_\_\_\_  
New York Daily News \_\_\_\_\_  
New York Post \_\_\_\_\_  
The New York Times \_\_\_\_\_  
The Worker \_\_\_\_\_  
The New Leader \_\_\_\_\_  
The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_  
The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_  
Date 7/13/63

ENCLOSURE

100-106670

## Negro Demonstrations Largely Red-Inspired, Barnett Charges

Communist conspiracy involved.

Thurmond said he was one member of the Committee who did believe a Communist conspiracy was behind the civil rights movement, but he added he believed many "sincere" people also have taken part in demonstrations.

Sen. Philip A. Hart (D-Mich.) said he hoped the hearing was not "creating an atmosphere this country experienced within the memory of

everyone in this room"—a reference to the Communist-hunting McCarthy era of the early 1950s.

"That was a tragic period and should not be repeated," said Hart. "The witness says he does not know that Martin Luther King is a Communist, but it will raise doubts in the minds of some. I would walk with Martin Luther King. I hope that would not make me suspect."

Magnuson asked:

"What do demonstrations or pictures have to do with my decision on a matter I have thought about for years? What if demonstrations were inspired by the Communist Party, the John Birch Society or the Elks Club? What do they have to do with my honest convictions? Some great churchmen have demonstrated. If no one demonstrated, people might think there was no interest in the issue."

Barnett argued that a public accommodations law would be unconstitutional.

"Every citizen has the right to own and operate his own business as he sees fit without interference from any source," said Barnett. "The legitimate purpose of government is to protect a man's home as his castle. Does not this same basic American constitutional fact of life apply equally to a man's private business?"

He told of a woman in Winaona, Miss., who operated a restaurant in a bus terminal. Ordered to desegregate it, she tried but both whites and Negroes stopped eating there. She was forced to close and has \$20,000 worth of equip-

ment on her hands, said Barnett.

Racial questions should be left to the states, said Barnett.

"If New York wants to integrate and end up with a mongrel race, that's their business," said the Governor. If Mississippi prefers segregation to "preserve the purity of the races," that should be its business, he said.

Sen. Winston L. Prouty (R-Vt.) said that if Communists were trying to use the race issue, wouldn't it be better to guarantee Negroes' rights and remove this weapon? No, said Barnett.

Hart said the civil rights struggle has taken a new turn because demonstrations have destroyed the argument that Negroes are satisfied and like segregation.

Barnett answered that a Jackson, Miss., Negro recently told him: "Governor, if you spend one Saturday night on Farrish st. (Negro night life center) you would never want to be a white man again."

James J. Kilpatrick, editor of the Richmond News Leader and vice chairman of the Virginia Commission on Constitutional Government, also testified against the public accommodations bill. He questioned the constitutionality of Federal regulation of private business, regardless of how desirable it might be considered.

Despite talk of wanting to exempt little establishments, the main thrust of the bill is bound to be against the "Mrs. Murphys," said Kilpatrick, because the big restaurants, hotels and stores are desegregating rapidly.



United Press International

Mississippi's Gov. Ross Barnett, at left, is shown with Sen. John Stennis (D-Miss.) the Senate Commerce Committee yesterday in opposition to a proposed public accommodations bill. as the governor prepared to testify before

3/



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO : Mr. Belmont

DATE: July 16, 1963

FROM : C. A. Evans

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING  
SECURITY MATTER - C  
RACIAL MATTERS

Tolson ☒  
Belmont ☒  
Mohr ☒  
Casper ☒  
Callahan ☒  
Conrad ☒  
DeLoach ☒  
Evans ☒  
Gale ☒  
Rosen ☒  
Sullivan ☒  
Tavel ☒  
Trotter ☒  
Tele. Room ☒  
Holmes ☒  
Gandy ☒

During the testimony of Governor Barnett of Mississippi, he referred to a photograph of Martin Luther King at what was described as a "Communist Training School." This photograph showed King and some other persons identified on the sheet as communists at a school in Tennessee. A review of this photograph by the Bureau determined it undoubtedly was a flier which consists of a picture of a group of individuals seated in an auditorium, one of which was Martin Luther King, and related to a 1957 Labor Day week end seminar at the Highlander Folk School at Monteagle, Tennessee, which was attended by King.

At approximately 9:20 a.m. this morning, Assistant Attorney General Burke Marshall telephonically contacted my office from the Attorney General's Office and referred to the photograph of Martin Luther King mentioned above. According to Marshall, three individuals identified on the photograph with King are "1. Abner Berry, described as being with the Central Committee of the Communist Party, 2. Aubrey Williams, described as President of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, and 3. Miles Horton, described as Director of the Highlander Folk School."

Mr. Marshall advised that the Attorney General would like to have furnished to him as soon as possible this morning a brief squib on each of the three persons mentioned above. The Attorney General is to leave for testimony before the Interstate Commerce Committee at around 10:15 and would like to have this material by that time.

## ACTION

ST-103

REC-10

JUL 30 1963

If approved, a brief statement concerning each of these individuals will be furnished to the Attorney General's Office as soon as possible.

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. McGowan

CHS:rap  
(8)

See me see what  
was orally furnished  
Marshall

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

UNITED STATES GOV

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized persons without the express approval of the FBI.

## Memorandum

TO : Mr. DeLoach

DATE: 7-16-63

FROM : M. A. Jones

SUBJECT: ABNER WINSTON BERRY  
MYLES HORTON  
AUBREY WILLIS WILLIAMS

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
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Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

A United Press-International News Service release of July 12, 1963, reported Mississippi Governor Ross Barnett displayed a poster-size photograph to the Senate Commerce Committee which he claimed showed Negro leader Dr. Martin Luther King "at a communist training school." Governor Barnett said the picture was taken at the Highlander Folk School of Monteagle, Tennessee, and he identified those in the picture with Dr. King as Abner Berry, Myles Horton and Aubrey Williams. Mr. Tolson noted, "We should check our files."

INFORMATION IN BUFILES:

Both Abner Winston Berry and Aubrey Willis Williams are Security Index subjects. Berry, a Negro, was born on June 12, 1902, at Beaumont, Texas. He joined the Communist Party in 1929, and from 1930 until 1958, he held high-level positions within the Party. In 1951, he relinquished editorship of the Harlem edition of "The Worker" in order to assume the position of Negro Affairs Editor of the "Daily Worker." He held this position until the "Daily Worker" ceased operation in January, 1958. In September, 1958, Berry was reported to have left the Party; however, he attended the 17th Communist Party National Convention on December 9-12, 1959 at New York City. He resides in Newark, New Jersey, and is currently employed as an editor by the Antara Indonesian News Agency, with offices in the United Nations Building, New York City. This Agency publishes a daily bulletin which has been described as an Indonesian propaganda outlet owned and operated by the Government of Indonesia; however, investigation indicates it actually appears to be a privately owned firm with no subsidization by the Indonesian Government. Berry has been interviewed on three occasions by Special Agents, but he refused to cooperate, saying only that he had severed his connections with the Party because it became a futile organization.

Aubrey Willis Williams is Chairman of the National Committee to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee (NCAHUAC) cited as an organization set up to lead and direct the Communist Party's "operation abolition" campaign. The NCAHUAC was organized by Williams and Frank Wilkinson, an

1 - Mr. Tolson

HHA:smg

(6)

62 AUG

JUL 26 1963

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100-106650

JUL 25 1963

CREDITS

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

M. A. Jones to DeLoach  
RE: ABNER WINSTON BERRY

individual with a known and admitted past Communist Party membership and continued Party affiliation. Over the years, Williams has spoken before and supported a number of left-wing and communist-led groups, although he has publicly and in appearance before Senate investigating committees, disclaimed any connection with or knowledge of the Communist Party. He has worked energetically to discredit the FBI and Director Hoover. As of July 19, 1961, Williams was president and a member of the board of directors of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. (SCEF), originally known as the Southern Conference for Human Welfare which had been cited as a communist front. A listing of the officers of SCEF, dated January, 1963, indicates Williams is now President Emeritus of the organization. A confidential informant advised on June 29, 1956, that during the time the Southern Conference for Human Welfare was in existence, Communist Party members were affiliated with it and worked actively in it. Since the formation of SCEF, rank and file Party members have not been encouraged to work in it; however, certain Party members in the New Orleans area had been assigned to participate in the organization to further communist principles.

On June 20, 1963, Myles Horton identified himself to the FBI as Director of the Highlander Research and Education Center of Knoxville, Tennessee. This is the successor to the Highlander Folk School, originally at Monteagle, Tennessee, of which Horton was also the director. The latter school was supported primarily by donations from individuals and labor unions and it offered courses of instruction in labor organization, social economics and the general field of labor education. It was known to have Communist Party members on its staff and it followed the practice of securing communists as students. It was never known to have offered courses of instructions in communism nor was the Party known to have succeeded in gaining control of the school. There were many allegations that it represented the headquarters for communism in Eastern Tennessee; however, these claims were never substantiated. The Tennessee Courts revoked the Highlander Folk School's charter on the grounds that it violated the criminal laws of the State. A State Charter for the Knoxville School was issued on August 28, 1961.

On April 21, 1942, a confidential informant advised that Myles Horton was a speaker before the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. On April 19, 1949, Paul Crouch, a self-admitted former Communist Party member, described Horton as a left-wing Socialist who was always close to the Communist Party, meeting with officials and representatives to discuss policy and procedure during the period from 1939 to 1941. Crouch said Horton could be described as a close follower and sympathizer of the Party line in 1941. He also said Horton's wife, Zylphia, was even closer to the Party than her husband and that when Crouch last saw her in 1941, she was giving serious consideration to joining the Party. Another confidential informant stated in December, 1950, that Horton continued to follow the Party line during the period 1947 to

M.A. Jones to DeLoach Memo  
RE: ABNER WINSTON BERRY

1950, and that he associated with known Party members. This informant doubted that Horton was actually a communist member. On December 7, 1950, and January 5, 1951, another confidential informant who is a former member of the Party, advised that Horton was not a member even though he had close association with Party members. He said Horton had been criticized by Party members as an opportunist who used the Party for his own purposes.

Horton was reported to be listed as one of the speakers for a "Bill of Rights Dinner" which was to be sponsored by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee on December 15, 1959.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

✓

EMC

JPW D  
Wes B

Tolson ☒  
 Belmont ☒  
 Mohr ☒  
 Casper ☒  
 Callahan ☒  
 Conrad ☒  
 DeLoach ☒  
 Evans ☒  
 Gale ☒  
 Rosen ☒  
 Sullivan ☒  
 Tavel ☒  
 Trotter ☒  
 Tele. Room ☒  
 Holmes ☒  
 Gandy ☒

UPI-95

ADD 5 CIVIL RIGHTS, WASHINGTON  
 CHARGING THAT THE CURRENT WAVE OF CIVIL RIGHTS AGITATION WAS  
 COMMUNIST-INSPIRED, BARNETT DISPLAYED A POSTER-SIZED PHOTOGRAPH WHICH  
 HE CLAIMED SHOWED NEGRO LEADER DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING "AT A COMMUNIST  
 TRAINING SCHOOL."

HE SAID THE PICTURE WAS TAKEN AT THE HIGHLANDER FOLK SCHOOL, MT.  
 EAGLE, TENN., BEFORE THE SCHOOL WAS SHUT DOWN BY THE STATE OF  
 TENNESSEE AS SUBVERSIVE. HE SAID HE GOT THE PICTURE FROM THE GEORGIA  
 STATE COMMISSION ON EDUCATION.

ABOUT 400 PERSONS, PREDOMINANTLY WHITE YOUTHS, PACKED THE HEARING  
 ROOM.

THURMOND REPEATEDLY CALLED FOR ORDER AS THE AUDIENCE, OBVIOUSLY  
 SYMPATHETIC TO THE PROPOSED LEGISLATION, MOANED OR TITTERED DURING THE  
 TESTIMONY.

BARNETT SAID THE PRESIDENT AND THE ATTORNEY GENERAL HAD ENCOURAGED  
 DEMONSTRATIONS SUCH AS FREEDOM RIDES AND THE LIKE. HE SAID THE  
 PRESIDENT'S RECENT TELEVISED CIVIL RIGHTS ADDRESS TOLD THE NEGRO, IN  
 SUBSTANCE, THAT HE HAD NOT BEEN TREATED FAIRLY AND "WHAT ELSE CAN HE  
 DO BUT RESORT TO THE STREETS."

HE SAID HE BELIEVED THERE HAD BEEN MORE SUCH ACTIVITY IN THE WEEKS  
 SINCE THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH. MONRONEY, WHO CALLED ON BARNETT TO  
 BACK UP HIS CHARGES, SAID HE DISAGREED "STRONGLY" WITH THE GOVERNOR'S  
 STATEMENT.

MONRONEY SAID HE DID NOT THINK THE PRESIDENT'S COMMENTS COULD BE  
 READ AS ENCOURAGING DEMONSTRATIONS. HE SAID HE ALSO DISAGREED WITH  
 BARNETT'S CONCLUSION THAT CIVIL RIGHTS ACTIVITY WAS COMMUNIST-INSPIRED.

BARNETT REPLIED BY PRODUCING THE PHOTOGRAPH.

MONRONEY ASKED BARNETT WHETHER HE HAD EVER SOUGHT INFORMATION FROM  
 FBI DIRECTOR J. EDGAR HOOVER OR FROM OTHER AUTHORITIES SUCH AS THE  
 HOUSE COMMITTEE ON UNAMERICAN ACTIVITIES ON THE BACKGROUND OF  
 CIVIL RIGHTS LEADERS. BARNETT SAID THAT HE HAD "NO EVIDENCE" FROM  
 HOOVER, BUT SUGGESTED THAT THE COMMITTEE ASK HOOVER WHETHER SOME OF  
 THOSE PICTURED WITH KING WERE COMMUNISTS.

BARNETT IDENTIFIED THOSE IN THE PICTURE WITH KING AS AUDREY  
 WILLIAMS, DIRECTOR OF THE SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATION FUND OF  
 NEW ORLEANS; ABNER BERRY, A NEGRO, AND MYLES HORTON, A FORMER DIRECTOR  
 OF THE SCHOOL.

MONRONEY SAID CIVIL RIGHTS ACTIVITY COULD NOT BE "SWEEPED UNDER THE  
 RUG" AS COMMUNIST-INSPIRED. BARNETT AGREED, AS DID THURMOND, THAT SOME  
 OF THE DEMONSTRATORS WERE SINCERE, BUT HE REPEATED HIS CLAIM THAT  
 CIVIL RIGHTS ACTIVITIES WERE "INSPIRED BY THE COMMUNISTS."

7/12--GE154P

100 - 106670 164  
 WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE

ENCLOSURE

# Rights Leaders 'Not Red,' FBI Says

WASHINGTON — (UPI) — Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy notified Congress Thursday that an FBI check has shown no evidence that any of the leaders of the major civil rights movements are Communists or Communist-controlled.

Kennedy also wrote Sen. A. S. (Mike) Monroney, (D., Okla.), that Communist efforts to infiltrate integration groups have been "remarkably unsuccessful."

Monroney is a member of the Senate Commerce Committee which recently heard Govs. Ross Barnett of Mis-

issippi and George C. Wallace of Alabama charge that Communist influences were back of much of the Negro civil rights protest activity.

The senator wrote FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover for his views and the latter turned the letter over to Kennedy.

The attorney general replied: "Based on all available information from the FBI and other sources, we have no evidence that any of the top lead-

ers of the major civil rights groups are Communists, or Communist-controlled. This is true as to Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., about whom particular accusations were made, as well as other leaders."

Barnett in his appearance before the Senate Committee offered a photograph showing King at a school which the governor said was Communist-dominated.

Kennedy also wrote: "It is

natural and inevitable that groups are Communists, or Communist-controlled. This is true as to Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., about whom particular accusations were made, as well as other leaders."

Monroney said he inquired about the leadership of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the Congress of Racial Equality

(CORE) — the two groups which have been in the forefront of the integration fight.

## Cold War Heroes May Get Medal

WASHINGTON (AP) — Cold War heroes will be eligible for the nation's top military decoration -- the Medal of Honor -- under a bill President Kennedy signed into law Thursday.

ENCLOSURE

SSC LETTER 10-6-75

ITEM 7a

He  
D 11-100 SP-2 ALM / 713

5-1008

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

*7 moe 16*  
*SP 2 AM 1/276*

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
Malone \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

TO : W. C. Sullivan

DATE: 7/18/63

FROM : R. W. Smith

- 1 - Belmont
- 1 - Mohr
- 1 - DeLoach
- 1 - Evans
- 1 - Sullivan
- 1 - Jones
- 1 - Baumgardner
- 1 - Bland
- 1 - Section Tickler
- 1 - Garner

SUBJECT: REQUESTS FROM SENATOR WARREN G. MAGNUSON  
AND CONGRESSMAN JEFFERY COHELAN  
CONCERNING CURRENT RACIAL AGITATION

By letter dated 7/16/63, Senator Magnuson enclosed a leaflet containing the photograph of Martin Luther King and others at what was described as a "Communist Training School." Senator Magnuson requested information concerning the authenticity of the photograph, information as to the Highlander Folk School where the photograph was allegedly taken and the status of the Georgia Commission on Education which printed the leaflet.

By letter dated 7/15/63, with a similar enclosure, Congressman Cohelan requested information regarding King and the school.

It is believed that these requests, which are similar in nature to the previous request of Senator Monroney, should be handled in the same manner by advising the correspondents that because of Departmental policy their requests are being forwarded to the Department for its consideration. Enclosed for that purpose are separate letters to Senator Magnuson and Congressman Cohelan. Senator Magnuson is on Special Correspondents' List. Bufiles indicate that Cohelan was listed as a sponsor and visiting lecturer in 1944 by the California Labor School, an organization designated as subversive pursuant to Executive Order 10450. He is also known in the past to have favored the abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

By separate communication, the Attorney General is being furnished one copy each of correspondents' letters, enclosures, and our replies. We are also furnishing pertinent information and calling attention to the data previously submitted to him regarding this matter contained in the Director's letter to the Attorney General dated 7/16/63.

## RECOMMENDATION:

That the enclosed letters be sent to Senator Magnuson and Congressman Cohelan.

Enclosures  
B.H. Sci  
NW 55874

*7-18-63*  
*1963 4/10/73*  
Page 100

105-72120  
NOT RECORDED  
JUL 25 1963  
JUL 26 1963

*BE* *CH*

*5-131*

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WARREN G. MAGNUSON, WASH., CHAIRMAN  
 JOHN Q. CASTORE, R.I.  
 A. S. MIKE MOHRONEY, OKLA.  
 STROM THURMOND, S.C.  
 FRANK J. LAUSCHE, OHIO  
 RALPH YARBOROUGH, TEX.  
 CLAIR ENGLE, CALIF.  
 E. L. BARTLETT, ALASKA  
 VANCE HARTKE, IND.  
 GALE W. MCGEE, WYO.  
 PHILIP A. HART, MICH.  
 HOWARD W. CANNON, NEV.

NORRIS COTTON,  
 THURSTON B. MORTON, KY.  
 HUGH SCOTT, PA.  
 WINSTON L. PROUTY, VT.  
 J. GLENN BEALL, MD.

# United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE

EDWARD JARRETT, CHIEF CLERK

July 16, 1963

Mr. Tolson ✓  
 Mr. Belmont ✓  
 Mr. Mohr ✓  
 Mr. Casper ✓  
 Mr. Callahan ✓  
 Mr. Conrad ✓  
 Mr. DeLoach ✓  
 Mr. Evans ✓  
 Mr. Gale ✓  
 Mr. Rosen ✓  
 Mr. Sullivan ✓  
 Mr. Tavel ✓  
 Mr. Trotter ✓  
 Tele. Room ✓  
 Miss Holmes ✓  
 Miss Gandy ✓

Dear Mr. Director:

I am enclosing a leaflet which was included in the official hearing record on S. 1732, the Administration's Public Accommodations Civil Rights bill. It was submitted by the Governor of Mississippi, Ross Barnett, as part of his statement to demonstrate that the recent racial demonstrations in the South and elsewhere are inspired and organized by communists.

Could you at the earliest possible time advise me of the authenticity of the picture, the status of the organization printing it (the Georgia Commission on Education), the nature and character of the Highlander Folk School of Monteagle, Tenn., as well as any other facts that might be pertinent in evaluating the implications of the material.

A reply with the return of the leaflet for inclusion in the record would be very helpful. My thanks in advance.

Personal regards.

Sincerely yours,

WARREN G. MAGNUSON  
 Chairman

Honorable J. Edgar Hoover  
 Director  
 Federal Bureau of Investigation  
 Department of Justice  
 Washington 25, D. C.

ENCLOSURE

Encl.  
 WGM:CBGc

JUL 24 1963

XEROX

CORRESPONDENCE

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UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 100-43281-1511-2961-17-1963-3

letter to Sen. Magnuson  
 7/14/63 BLH/aab  
 REC-25  
 105-72120-3  
 3 JUL 23 1963

# MARTIN LUTHER KING... AT COMMUNIST TRAINING SCHOOL



#m DR16  
11/1/00 SP-2 Alm/AB

July 18, 1963

REC-25

105-72120-3

- 1 - Original
- 1 - Yellow
- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Evans
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. M.A. Jones
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. Bland
- 1 - Section tickler
- 1 - Mr. Garner

Honorable Warren G. Magnuson  
United States Senate  
Washington 25, D. C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-1-00 BY SP2ALM/2K

My dear Senator:

Reference is made to your letter dated July 18, 1963, with the enclosed leaflet and your request for information concerning the authenticity of the picture in the leaflet, the nature and character of the Highlander Folk School, and the status of the Georgia Commission on Education. In line with Departmental policy, your request and a copy of the leaflet are being forwarded to the Attorney General for his consideration.

Pursuant to your request, I am returning the leaflet.

Sincerely yours,

L. Edgar Hoover

MAILED 6  
JUL 18 1963  
COMM-FBI

Enclosure

BLH/aab  
(15)

- 1 - The Attorney General
- 1 - The Deputy Attorney General
- 1 - Mr. Burke Marshall
- Assistant Attorney General

NOTE:

Address per Special Correspondents' List. Re memo Smith to Sullivan dated 7/18/63 re: REQUESTS FROM SENATOR WARREN G. MAGNUSON AND CONGRESSMAN JEFFERY COHELAN CONCERNING CURRENT RACIAL AGITATION. BLH/gc

XEROX

JUL 24 1963

63 JUL 29 1963

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

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- Tolson
- Belmont
- Mohr
- Casper
- Callahan
- Conrad
- DeLoach
- Evans
- Gale
- Rosen
- Sullivan
- Tavel
- Trotter
- Tele. Room
- Holmes
- Gandy

JUL 18 3 58 PM '63  
REC'D-READING ROOM  
FBI

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

Be wry  
PWSB

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The Attorney General

1 - Mr. Belmont

July 18, 1963

1 - Mr. Mohr

Director, FBI

1 - Mr. DeLoach

1 - Mr. M.A. Jones

1 - Mr. Evans

1 - Mr. Baumgardner

1 - Mr. Sullivan

1 - Mr. Bland

REQUESTS FROM SENATOR WARREN G. MAGNUSON

1 - Section tickler

AND CONGRESSMAN JEFFERY COHELAN

1 - Mr. Garner

CONCERNING CURRENT RACIAL AGITATION

DECLASSIFIED BY 922 ALN/216  
ON 11-1-00

Enclosed are letters from Senator Warren G. Magnuson and Congressman Jeffery Cohehan, which are self-explanatory. I have informed each by letter this date that I am referring his letter to you for your consideration in line with Departmental policy. Copies of my letters in this regard are also attached.

As you will note, each letter transmitted a leaflet containing a photograph of Martin Luther King and others purportedly in attendance at a seminar at the Highlander Folk School over the Labor Day weekend in 1957 and requested information pertinent to the validity of the leaflet.

REC'D-READING ROOM  
B I

JUL 18 3 58 PM '63

Information concerning the school and those identified in the leaflet with King, Cabner Berry, Aubrey Williams, and Myles Horton--was furnished to you by letter dated July 17, 1963, captioned "Martin Luther King, Security Matter-C, Racial Matters."

For your additional information, newspaper articles indicate that the Georgia Commission on Education, which is the legislative investigating body of the State of Georgia, sent a photographer named Edwin Friend to the Labor Day, 1957, weekend seminar at the Highlander Folk School. He reportedly took both still and motion pictures of the individuals and activities there on that occasion. The Commission later published these photographs in a large folder and is known to have circulated them within a month of the Labor Day meeting.

MAILED 2

JUL 18 1963

COMM-FBI

Berry, in a column in the September 14, 1957, issue of the "Daily Worker," an east coast communist newspaper, stated that he had attended the weekend seminar at the Highlander Folk School over the Labor Day weekend, 1957. Berry stated that Martin Luther King and Aubrey Williams also attended this seminar.

SEC-D BETHOW1

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

(15)

NOTE: See memo, Smith to Sullivan, 7/18/63 re: REQUESTS FROM SENATOR WARREN G. MAGNUSON & CONGRESSMAN JEFFERY COHELAN CONCERNING CURRENT RACIAL AGITATION. RSG/aab

XEROX

SEE NOTE ON PAGE TWO RE CLASSIFICATION

JUL 22 1963

JUL 23 1963

TELETYPE UNIT

Subject to Criminal Sanctions

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The Attorney General

A Washington Capital News Service dispatch for July 13, 1963, quoted Martin Luther King as stating that his only visit to the Highlander Folk School was for a speech he had made at the school's 35th anniversary celebration in 1957. He added that the picture of him at the school which had been displayed by Governor Ross Barnett, of Mississippi, to the Senate Committee on Commerce on July 12, 1963, apparently was taken during this visit.

Enclosures (3)

1 - The Deputy Attorney General - Enclosures (3)

1 - Mr. Burke Marshall - Enclosures (3)  
Assistant Attorney General

NOTE:

This letter is classified ~~Confidential~~ since it contains information furnished from confidential informants whose revelation could cause harm to the national defense.

- 3 -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan *WCS* DATE: July 18, 1963

FROM : R. W. Smith *RS*

SUBJECT: REQUESTS FROM SENATOR WARREN G. MAGNUSON  
AND CONGRESSMAN JEFFERY COHELAN  
CONCERNING CURRENT RACIAL AGITATION

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Reference my memorandum dated 7/18/63, captioned as above, which acknowledged receipt of letters and enclosures from Senator Magnuson and Congressman Cohelan and informed them that their requests are being forwarded to the Attorney General for his consideration.

Senator Magnuson requested information as to the authenticity of a photograph of Martin Luther King and others taken at the Highlander Folk School, the status of the Georgia Commission on Education which printed the photograph, and information relating to the Highlander Folk School. Congressman Cohelan also requested information regarding King and the school.

Information concerning the Highlander Folk School and those in the photograph with King--Abner Winston Berry, Aubrey Williams, and Myles Horton--was furnished to the Attorney General by letter dated 7/17/63, captioned "Martin Luther King, Security Matter-C, Racial Matters."

The enclosed memorandum contains additional information for the Attorney General.

The Georgia Commission on Education, a legislative investigating body of the State of Georgia, sent a photographer to a seminar at the Highlander Folk School over Labor Day, 1957, to take still and motion pictures of individuals and activities. Later the Commission published these photographs in a large folder.

Enclosures *sent 7-18-63*

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Evans
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan

- 1 - Mr. M.A. Jones
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. Bland
- 1 - Section tickler
- 1 - Mr. Garner

176 JUL 24 1963

10 JUL 23 1963

RSG/aab  
(11)

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54 JUL 30 1963

ORIGINAL FILED IN 62-11-39

Memo Smith to Sullivan

Re: REQUESTS FROM SENATOR WARREN G. MAGNUSON  
AND CONGRESSMAN JEFFERY COHELAN  
CONCERNING CURRENT RACIAL AGITATION

Information in our files shows that Abner Berry, Aubrey Williams, and King were present at this Labor Day seminar at the school. King was quoted by a press service on July 13, 1963, as having admitted that he attended the 25th anniversary celebration of the school in 1957 and that the picture of him was apparently taken during this visit.

RECOMMENDATION:

That the enclosed letter be sent to the Attorney General.

WCS  
Br

GR.  
P

V

CONFIDENTIAL

The Attorney General

July 16, 1963

Director, FBI

1 - Mr. Belmont  
1 - Mr. Evans  
1 - Mr. Stanley

ST-103  
REC-10  
MARTIN LUTHER KING  
SECURITY MATTER - C  
RACIAL MATTERS

SP 2 AL m 1206  
ON 11-1-00

The following is a brief summary of information in this Bureau's files concerning Abner W. Berry, Aubrey Williams, and Nyles Horton:

Abner Winston Berry, a Negro, was born on June 12, 1902, at Beaumont, Texas. He joined the Communist Party in 1929, and from 1930 to 1953 he held high-level positions within the Party. In 1951 he relinquished editorship of the Harlem edition of "The Worker" in order to assume the position of Negro Affairs Editor of the "Daily Worker." He held this position until the "Daily Worker" ceased operation in January, 1958. In September, 1958, Berry was reported to have left the Party; however, he attended the 17th Communist Party National Convention on December 9 - 12, 1959, at New York City. He resides in Newark, New Jersey, and is currently employed as an editor by the Antara Indonesian News Agency, with offices in the United Nations Building, New York City. This agency publishes a daily bulletin which has been described as an Indonesian propaganda outlet owned and operated by the Government of Indonesia; however, investigation indicates it actually appears to be a privately owned firm with no subsidization by the Indonesian Government. Upon being interviewed on three occasions by Special Agents of the FBI, Berry has refused to cooperate, indicating that he had severed his connections with the Communist Party because it became a futile organization.

Aubrey Willis Williams is Chairman of the National Committee to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee; cited as an organization set up to lead and direct the Communist Party's "operation abolition" campaign. This committee was organized by Williams and Frank Wilkinson, an individual with a known and admitted past Communist Party membership. Over the years Williams has spoken before, and supported, a number of left-wing and communist-led groups, although he has publicly,

- Mr. DeLoach
  - Mr. Rosen
  - Mr. Sullivan
  - Mr. McGowan
- NOTE: Information obtained from memo Jones to DeLoach, 7/16/63, captioned "Abner Winston Berry, Nyles Horton, Aubrey Willis Williams." See Evans Belmont memo 7/16/63, same caption, CHS:rap.

CHS:rap

CONFIDENTIAL

MAIL ROOM

CONTINUED PAGE 3



**The Attorney General**

and in appearances before Senate investigating committees, disclaimed any connection with, or knowledge of, the Communist Party. He has worked energetically to discredit the FBI and the Director. As of July, 1961, Williams was President and a member of the Board of Directors of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Incorporated, previously known as the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, cited as a communist front. A listing of the officers of the Southern Conference Educational Fund dated in January, 1963, indicates Williams is now president emeritus of this organization. According to a confidential informant, in June of 1956, during the time the Southern Conference for Human Welfare was in existence, Communist Party members were affiliated with it and worked actively in it. Since the formation of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, rank and file Party members have not been encouraged to work in it; however, certain Party members in the New Orleans area had been assigned to participate in the organization to further communist principles.

On June 20, 1963, Myles Horton identified himself to the FBI as Director of the Highlander Research and Education Center of Knoxville, Tennessee. This is the successor to the Highlander Folk School, originally at Monteagle, Tennessee, of which Horton was also the director. The latter school was supported primarily by donations from individuals and labor unions and it offered courses of instruction in labor organization, social economics and the general field of labor education. It was known to have Communist Party members on its staff and it followed the practice of securing communists as students. However, according to information received, it was never known to have offered courses of instructions in communism, nor was the Party known to have succeeded in gaining control of the school. There were many allegations that it represented the headquarters for communism in eastern Tennessee; however, these claims were never substantiated. The Tennessee Courts revoked the Highlander Folk School's charter on the grounds that it violated the criminal laws of the state. A state charter for the Knoxville school was issued on August 23, 1961.

On April 21, 1942, a confidential informant advised that Myles Horton was a speaker before the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. On April 19, 1949, Paul Crouch, a self-admitted former Communist Party member, described Horton as

CONFIDENTIAL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

**The Attorney General**

a left-wing socialist who was always close to the Communist Party, meeting with officials and representatives to discuss policy and procedure during the period from 1939 to 1941. This informant also described Horton's wife, Zylphia, as being even closer to the Party in 1941. Another confidential informant advised this Bureau in 1950 that Horton continued to follow the Communist Party line during the period 1947 to 1950 and that he associated with known Party members. This informant doubted that Horton was actually a Communist Party member. In 1950 and 1951 a third confidential informant, who is a former member of the Party, advised that Horton was not a member even though he had close association with Party members. He stated Horton had been criticized by the Party members as an opportunist who used the Party for his own purposes.

Horton was reported to be listed as one of the speakers for a "Bill of Rights Dinner" which was to be sponsored by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee on December 15, 1959.

The above confirms information furnished to Assistant Attorney General Burke Marshall on the morning of July 16, 1963.

1 - Mr. Burke Marshall  
Assistant Attorney General

1 - Mr. J. Walter Yeagley  
Assistant Attorney General

NOTE: (CONTINUED) Classified ~~confidential~~ as information furnished from confidential informants whose revelation could cause harm to the national defense.

- 3 -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SSC LETTER 10-6-75

ITEM 7d

#mae16  
11-1-00 SP2 ALM / AB

See 1008

SECRET

NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION  
Unauthorized Disclosure  
Subject to Criminal Sanctions

The Attorney General

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Evans
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan

July 17, 1963

- 1 - Mr. M.A. Jones
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. Bland
- 1 - Section tickler
- 1 - Mr. Garner

REC-42  
ST-116

157-6-133

REQUEST FROM SENATOR MONRONEY  
CONCERNING CURRENT RACIAL AGITATION

#m 0816  
SP 2 ALM 1876

For your information, there is enclosed a copy of a letter dated July 14, 1963, received from Senator A. S. Mike Monroney which is self-explanatory. I have advised Senator Monroney by letter of this date that, in line with Departmental policy, I am referring his letter to you.

In substance, the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA) is not able to assume a role of leadership in the racial unrest at this time. However, the Party is attempting to exploit the current racial situation through propaganda and participation in demonstrations and other activities wherever possible. Through these tactics, the Party hopes ultimately to progress from its current supporting role to a position of decisive leadership.

Much of the CPUSA's hope to play a more decisive role is linked with Stanley Levison's role as an advisor to Martin Luther King. Party officials regard Levison, a secret member of the CPUSA, as being engaged in the most important work in the Party today because of his association with King. Levison has reportedly stated that King is a wholehearted Marxist who has studied it (Marxism), believes in it, agrees with it, but because of his being a minister of religion, does not care to espouse it publicly. Levison is reputed to have written the speech which King delivered at the convention of the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO) in Florida in December, 1961.

When King indicated in June, 1962, that he wanted another administrative assistant, Levison recommended Hunter Pitts O'Fall, who has been elected to the National Committee of the CPUSA in December, 1962, under the pseudonym Cornelius James. King adopted Levison's suggestion and employed O'Fall in his organization, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). Levison's newspaper identified O'Fall as a communist in 1962, King announced that O'Fall had resigned from the SCLC. However, O'Fall continues to associate with King to this day.

NOTE: See memorandum, Smith to Sullivan, 7/17/63, RSG:JMS/ab:jed, re: SENATOR A. S. MIKE MONRONEY, REQUEST FOR DIRECTOR'S VIEWS RE CURRENT RACIAL AGITATION.

RSG:JMS/jdd:aab

SEE NOTE ON PAGE THREE RE CLASSIFICATION

~~SECRET~~

## The Attorney General

Recently, information received indicates that, while Levison still retains his strong communist convictions and still acts as an effective Party advisor to King, he is becoming critical of the Party's role in the relationship. He believes the Party has lost prestige among Negroes lately because it has not been sufficiently aggressive and effective in promoting civil rights for the Negro and otherwise actively immersing itself in Negro causes.

King reportedly attended a Labor Day weekend seminar in 1957 at the Highlander Folk School in Monteagle, Tennessee. According to a publication circulated concerning this meeting by the Georgia Commission of Education, which allegedly had an undercover agent in attendance, the meeting was held to discuss methods and tactics for precipitating racial strife and disturbances. While CPUSA members were on the school staff and the school followed the policy of welcoming communist students, the CPUSA was not in control of the school.

In June, 1960, the ACLC was reported to have ~~solicited~~ <sup>solicited</sup> funds from the Soviet and Czechoslovakian Embassies and the Rumanian Legation in Washington, D. C. <sup>See memo to Sullivan 7/1/63</sup> Same caption

In recent years, King has signed a petition urging abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities and petitions requesting the release of two imprisoned Communist Party leaders.

NAACP officials are aware that the NAACP is a communist target. As a result, the NAACP has taken a firm stand against communism and has warned its branches to be constantly alert against communist efforts to infiltrate them. The constitution of the NAACP contains an anticommunist clause which prohibits membership in the organization by known Communist Party members.

There is no indication that any of the key figures of the NAACP are or have been members of the Communist Party. Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary of the NAACP, has been strongly anticommunist and has endeavored to keep the NAACP free of communists.

The following national officers of the NAACP had communist front affiliations--in no instance extensive--a number of years ago, but none is known to have been a Communist Party member: Arthur Spingarn, President; Bishop Stephen G. Spottswood, Chairman of the Board of Directors; and Robert L. Carter, General Counsel.

- 2 -

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

The Attorney General

There is no evidence that any of the following top leaders of CORE are or have been Communist Party members: James L. Farmer, National Director; James T. McCain, Field Director; and Gordon R. Carey, Director, Program and Training Department. Carey was one of the founders of the Conference of Young Socialists (CYS) in 1937 and was a member at large of the Executive Committee of CYS. The CYS was controlled by the Trotskyite Socialist Workers Party, which has been designated as subversive pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

Full details of the activities related herein previously have been furnished for the Department's files in individual reports and related communications.

Enclosures (2)

1 - The Deputy Attorney General - Enclosures (2)

1 - Mr. Burke Marshall - Enclosures (2)  
Assistant Attorney General

Note: This letter is classified ~~Secret~~ inasmuch as it contains information from highly sensitive sources, the unauthorized disclosure of which could result in serious damage to the Nation and have an adverse effect upon the national defense interests of the country.

~~SECRET~~

1-Mr. Belmont  
1-Mr. Mohr  
1-Mr. DeLoach  
1-Mr. Evans  
1-Mr. Sullivan

1-Mr. M.A. Jones  
1-Mr. Baumgardner  
1-Mr. Bland  
1-Section tickler  
1-Mr. Garner

July 17, 1963

BY SPECIAL MESSENGER

Honorable A. S. Mike Monroney  
United States Senate  
Washington, D. C.

My dear Senator:

Reference is made to your letter dated July 12, 1963, requesting information concerning the extent to which the current racial agitation is communist instigated and information concerning alleged subversive affiliations of Martin Luther King, Jr., and the leaders of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Congress of Racial Equality. In line with Departmental policy, your request for this information is being transmitted to the Attorney General for his consideration.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

BY COURIER SVC.

0 4 JUL 1 7

COMM-FBI

**NOTE:** See memorandum Smith to Sullivan, 7-17-63, RSG:JMS:aab:jdd, re: SENATOR A. S. MIKE MONRONEY, REQUEST FOR DIRECTOR'S VIEWS RE CURRENT RACIAL AGITATION.

REC'D-READING ROOM

JUL 17 1 49 PM '63

FBI

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized persons without the express approval of the FBI.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
Malone \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

RSG:JMS:aab:jdd  
(12)

JUL 15 11 18 AM '63  
REC'D DEPT. OF JUSTICE

JUL 15 11 15 AM '63  
REC'D DEPT. OF JUSTICE

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan 100-100000

**DATE: 7-17-63**

FROM : Mr. R. W. Smith

SUBJECT: SENATOR A. S. MIKE MONRONEY  
REQUEST FOR DIRECTOR'S VIEWS  
RE CURRENT RACIAL AGITATION

By letter dated 7-12-63 Senator A. S. Mike Monroney requested the Director's views concerning the claim of Governor Ross Barnett of Mississippi that much of the current racial agitation is communist instigated. Senator Monroney included with his letter a transcript of Governor Barnett's remarks and requested information concerning the alleged subversive affiliations of Martin Luther King, Jr., and the leaders of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE).

Mr. Tolson suggested that we write a short note to Senator Monroney acknowledging receipt of his communication and advising that, in line with Departmental policy, his request for information is being transmitted to the Attorney General for appropriate consideration. Mr. Tolson further suggested that we also prepare a memorandum for the Attorney General and Deputy Attorney General transmitting Senator Monroney's letter and the transcript of Governor Barnett's statement, along with the information contained in Mr. Sullivan's memorandum on this matter dated 7-16-63. The Director noted: "I share Tolson's views."

Accordingly, we have prepared the enclosed letter to Senator Monroney and the enclosed memorandum for the Attorney General, with copies for the Deputy Attorney General and Assistant Attorney General Burke Marshall, in line with Mr. Tolson's suggestion.

**RECOMMENDATION:**

That the enclosed letters be sent.

## Enclosures

- 1 - Mr. Belmont  
1 - Mr. Mohr  
1 - Mr. DeLoach  
1 - Mr. Evans  
1 - Mr. Sullivan  
1 - Mr. M.A. Jones  
1 - Mr. Baumgardner  
1 - Mr. Bland  
1 - Section tickler  
1 - Mr. Garner

1 - Section tickler document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont ☒  
Mohr ☒  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach ☒  
Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan ☒  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

REC- 42

5 AUG 8 1963



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR

DATE: 7/16/63

FROM : CLYDE TOLSON

SUBJECT:

Tolson ☒  
 Belmont ☒  
 Mohr ☒  
 Casper ☒  
 Callahan ☒  
 Conrad ☒  
 DeLoach ☒  
 Evans ☒  
 Gale ☒  
 Rosen ☒  
 Sullivan ☒  
 Tavel ☒  
 Trotter ☒  
 Tele. Room ☒  
 Holmes ☒  
 Gandy ☒

0  
 Racial Matters - Gen

Please note the attached correspondence. I do not believe the suggested approach is proper. It seems to me that we should write a short note to Senator Monroney, acknowledging receipt of his communication and advising that in line with departmental policy his request for information is being transmitted to the Attorney General for appropriate consideration. We can, at the same time, prepare a memorandum to the Attorney General and the Deputy Attorney General transmitting Senator Monroney's letter, together with the enclosure (a copy of Governor Barnett's statement) and advise him of the information contained in Mr. Sullivan's memorandum of July 16 concerning Martin Luther King, NAACP and CORE.

It seems to me that the letter proposed by Mr. Sullivan and Mr. Evans can only result in your being called before the committee personally to answer detailed questions concerning the current racial agitation.

CT:DSS

#moe16

SP2 ALM 12/16

*John T. Tolson*  
 minus

REC-116

157-6-13

AUG 8 1963

FBI RECEIVED - 0720H

JUL 12 2 31 PM '63

CRIME RESEARCH

72 AUG 12 1963

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized persons without the express approval of the FBI.

Memo Smith to Sullivan 7-17-63  
 Let to Monroney 7-17-63  
 Let to AG, DAG + AG, Burke 7-17-63  
 RSG: JMS aub. jfd

Tolson ☒  
 Belmont ☒  
 Mohr ☒  
 Casper ☒  
 Callahan ☒  
 Conrad ☒  
 DeLoach ☒  
 Evans ☒  
 Gale ☒  
 Rosen ☒  
 Sullivan ☒  
 Tavel ☒  
 Trotter ☒  
 Tele. Room ☒  
 Holmes ☒  
 Gandy ☒

7/17/63

*Racial  
Matters - (C)*

MEMORANDUM FOR THE DIRECTOR:

I think it might be well for Mr. Evans to personally deliver the original of the memorandum to the Attorney General and the copy of the memorandum indicated for the Deputy Attorney General so that if any questions are raised Mr. Evans can make it very clear that the Bureau does not furnish information of the type requested by Senator Monroney to members of the Congress, but that matters of this kind have been handled in the past through the Department.

*This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.*

CT:DSS

*#MR/6  
11/100 SP2441705*

*7-17-63  
Memo Evans to  
Belmont 7-18-63  
Yes & do so  
promptly.*

*20-13 4 30-44-123*

72 AUG 12 1963

REC-116

157-6-131

AUG 8 1963

CRIME RESEARCH

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan *WC 8-11-63* DATE: July 16, 1963 *#MDP16*FROM : R. W. Smith *SW* *D.C. of file* *11-2-00* *SP-2 ALM/276*SUBJECT: SENATOR A. S. MIKE MONRONEY  
REQUEST FOR DIRECTOR'S VIEWS  
RE CURRENT RACIAL AGITATION *Racial 7: letter* *Gen*

Tolson	_____
Belmont	_____
Mohr	_____
Casper	_____
Callahan	_____
Conrad	_____
DeLoach	_____
Evans	_____
Gale	_____
Rosen	_____
Sullivan	_____
Tavel	_____
Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holmes	_____
Gandy	_____

By enclosed letter, 7/12/63, Senator Monroney requested the Director's views concerning the claim that much of the current racial agitation is communist-instigated.

There is enclosed a letter to Senator Monroney, with whom we have had cordial relations, pointing out that while communists strive to exploit the racial situation, their activities have been of a supporting nature rather than a leading one. This is a factual statement and is supported most concretely in today's situation by statements made in the last month by four separate Party leaders who lamented in Party meetings the lack of any Party leadership in the current Negro movement. (NY 2559-S\* NY Airtels re CPUSA Negro Question 6/19, 20, 24, and 7/12/63; CG 6344-S CGlet 7/5/63 re CPUSA Negro Question; & NY 4342-S\*, 100-3-76)

Senator Monroney also requested the Director's comments on the allegation that the Reverend Martin Luther King and other leaders of such organizations as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) have subversive affiliations. A review of information in our files concerning King and leaders of the NAACP and CORE discloses the following:

Martin Luther King

King has not been identified as a member of the Communist Party; however, he has been described by a Communist Party functionary as a King associates with Party members, and his name has been linked with communist front groups.

NAACP

NAACP officials are aware that the NAACP is a communist tail. The NAACP has taken a firm stand against communism and has warned its branches to be constantly alert against communist efforts to infiltrate them.

Enclosures

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

RSG:JES/mls (10)

1-Mr. Belmont; 1-Mr. Mohr; 1-Mr. DeLoach;  
1-Mr. M. A. Jones; 1-Mr. Sullivan; 1-Mr. Baumgardner;  
1-Mr. Bland; 1-Section Tickler; 1-Mr. Garner

AUG 8 1963

CRIME RESEARCH

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by the FBI and may not be disclosed to unauthorized persons.

Memo to Mr. Sullivan  
RE: SENATOR A. S. MIKE MONRONEY  
REQUEST FOR DIRECTOR'S VIEWS  
RE CURRENT RACIAL AGITATION

Roy Wilkins, executive secretary, is strongly anticommunist and has endeavored to keep the NAACP clean of communists. Several other national officers of the NAACP had communist front affiliations a number of years ago -- in no instance extensive -- and none have been known to be Communist Party members.

#### CORE

There is no evidence that any of CORE's top leaders are members of the Communist Party or have any communist sympathies. As a matter of fact, CORE's top leaders have been very cooperative with us.

#### OBSERVATION

The reply to Senator Monroney is absolutely factual and sound, and cannot be used to embarrass the Bureau. It is purposely general in nature. In regard to the Senator's request for specific information about alleged subversive affiliations of Martin Luther King, the leaders of the NAACP and CORE, it is believed best to advise him as we have done in the letter that he may wish to direct that request to the Deputy Attorney General, Nicholas deB. Katzenbach. In the first place, anything we might reveal about King could jeopardize a highly placed source. In addition, we do not want to say anything that might possibly appear to contradict something the Attorney General may say in his testimony today.

#### LETTER TO deB. KATZENBACH

Enclosed is a brief letter to the Deputy Attorney General Nicholas deB. Katzenbach furnishing him with a copy of the Senator's letter and the Director's reply.

#### RECOMMENDATIONS:

(1) That the enclosed letter to Senator Monroney be sent.

(2) That the enclosed letter to Deputy Attorney General deB. Katzenbach be sent.

Wes.  
- 2 - Br

CARL HAYDEN, ARIZ., CHAIRMAN

RICHARD B. RUSSELL, GA.  
DENNIS CHAVEZ, N. MEX.  
ALLEN J. ELLENBERGER, LA.  
LISTER HILL, ALA.  
JOHN L. MCCLELLAN, ARK.  
A. WILLIS ROBERTSON, VA.  
WARREN G. MAGNUSON, WASH.  
SPESSARD L. HOLLAND, FLA.  
JOHN STENNIS, MISS.  
JOHN O. PASTORE, R.I.  
ESTES KEFAUVER, TENN.  
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ALAN BIBLE, NEV.  
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HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, MINN.

LEVERETT SALTONS, N. H.  
MILTON R. YOUNG, K.  
KARL E. MUNDT, S.  
MARGARET CHASE S. H. MAINE  
THOMAS H. KUCHEL, CALIF.  
ROMAN L. HRUSKA, IND.  
GORDON ALLOTT, COLO.  
NORRIS COTTON, N.H.  
CLIFFORD P. CASE, N.J.  
JACOB K. JAVITS, N.Y.

# United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS

July 12, 1963

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. Belmont	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Casper	✓
Mr. Callahan	✓
Mr. Conrad	✓
Mr. Felt	✓
Mr. Evans	✓
Mr. Gale	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	✓
Mr. Trotter	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Miss Holmes	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

EVERARD H. SMITH, CLERK  
THOMAS J. SCOTT, ASST. CLERK

The Honorable J. Edgar Hoover  
Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington 25, D.C.

My dear Mr. Hoover:

You have no doubt seen the statements made today by the Honorable Ross Barnett, Governor of Mississippi, in his testimony before the Commerce Committee on the pending civil rights legislation. The Governor made a number of statements concerning alleged Communist activities, and I have had a number of inquiries from my constituents in a similar vein.

Undoubtedly the Governor's testimony before the Committee today will result in many additional inquiries concerning the validity of these allegations. It is my purpose to be as factual and informative as possible in responding to my constituents who indicate great concern as a result of them.

It would be most helpful to me in preparing responses to these constituents if you could provide me with your expert views and reactions to these allegations to the effect that much of the current racial agitation is Communist-instigated. In particular, I would appreciate having your comments concerning the allegation that the Reverend Martin Luther King, and other leaders of civil rights organizations, including the NAACP and CORE, have subversive affiliations. Perhaps better than any other American, you are qualified to place these allegations in proper perspective.

I am enclosing for your convenience a copy of Governor Barnett's prepared statement, but I will also refer you to his subsequent testimony, during which he elaborated by naming specific individuals and organizations.

With kindest regards and best wishes, I am

ENCLOSURE

Sincerely,

Mike Monroney

AUG 8 1963

EXP. PROC. 10

JUL 15 1963

Letter to Monroney  
+ Katzenbach 7/16/63 RSC  
JMS/mw; aab  
NW 55074 DocId:32989531 Page 121

CRIME RESEARCH

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

#moe16  
11-1-00 SP2ALM/705

STATEMENT BY GOVERNOR ROSS R. BARNETT OF MISSISSIPPI BEFORE U. S.  
SENATE COMMERCE COMMITTEE, JULY 12, 1963.

Gentlemen, we are facing one of the most critical times in the history of our nation. Minority groups in our country have taken to the streets to agitate, to demonstrate, to breach the peace, and to provoke violence calculated to blackmail this Congress into passing legislation in direct violation of the United States Constitution. You have been forced to consider this legislation through the pressure and blackmail of mobs in the streets.

The President and the Attorney General have encouraged demonstrations, freedom rides, sit-ins, picketing and actual violation of local laws. What is happening in our nation today fits the pattern of what has been happening throughout the world insofar as the Communist activity is concerned. Compare the Communist tactics with a Cuba, a Laos, a Berlin, a Viet Nam, a Haiti, or other parts of the world. Communist tactics are to create a crisis and let it cool off. The same tactics are being practiced in the United States through a Birmingham, and letting it cool off; a Jackson, and letting it cool off; a Danville, Virginia; a Cambridge, Maryland; riots in Philadelphia; and in New York City. It's the same old Communist offensive of attack with a hammer and then withdraw. Attack with a hammer and then withdraw--each time causing more ill will, more racial unrest and pushing a wedge further between existing good relations of the people of a nation. It is the divide, disrupt and conquer technique. The passage of this Civil Rights legislation will positively provoke more violence, not just in the South, but throughout all areas of our nation. I am convinced that this is a part of the world Communist conspiracy to divide and conquer our country from within.

The Communists are, therefore, championing the cause of the Negroes in America as an important part of their drive to mobilize both colored and white for the overthrow of our government.

There are those who are so anxious to hold high the banner of the Civil Rights issue that they fail to read some of the writing on the banner. They fail to realize that the Communist Party hopes to divide and conquer the South with the purpose of then

fan the flames into a holocaust in Northern racial strife areas. To date, they have been disappointed and defeated by the due process of law in the South where law enforcement agencies and level-headed citizens have been able to contain the aggravations of the outside racial agitators.

Gentlemen, it is obvious to many of us throughout the country that the racial agitation, strife and conflict that has been stirred up throughout our entire nation is largely Communist-inspired. Racial agitators in Mississippi and leaders of demonstrations in other states have backgrounds that have made many of us, including our local police, state investigating agencies, and the FBI, to be concerned about the real motivation behind these so-called Civil Rights leaders.

Your passage of this legislation will be no cure-all for the problems that this nation faces because of racial strife and conflict. The passage of this legislation will, however, mean the complete end of Constitutional government in America and result in racial violence of unimaginable scope. Even the New York Times has said that "with every negro advance, momentum for more violence and agitation increases, not decreases."

This legislation is so all-inclusive and so sweeping in its scope that it has been termed by many as the "WHITE SLAVE BILL".

Gentlemen, you have all learned through your personal experiences that to try to appease, accommodate, or give concessions to the demands of the arrogant leads only to additional conflicts and additional problems which you didn't face before. Certainly, you are familiar with the results of our policy of appeasement towards Cuba and Laos. The passage of this Civil Rights legislation will lead us into an area of conflict between the races, the like of which we have never known. There will be no end to the constant pressure for more and more and more.

The Attorney General has stated that the passage of this Bill would move the problem of so-called discrimination in public accommodations out of the streets and into the courts. I question this statement. The Attorney General has been personally responsible for helping to put more in the streets and I can properly say that this legislation, if enacted, will put hundreds of thousands of white business men in the streets.

The purpose of government should be to protect the individual and to see to it that no one interferes with his private property. The present administration seems to have adopted the very heart of the Socialistic philosophy that the private rights of men are to be tolerated only at the suffrage of the State. What we are seeing today is a grasp for power by certain men in public office who would give to an all-powerful Central Government full control over all phases of the lives of our people. I see this legislation as an attempt by greedy minorities to prostitute the purpose of law and government as a protector of private property, and to use the law to plunder the property of others.

If you pass this legislation, you are allowing a minority in our country to force itself upon the majority of the citizens of our nation. What and where are the rights of the majority? The powers of the Attorney General under this legislation will be so sweeping and so encompassing as to comprise a serious threat, in itself, to the safety and stability of the nation. The Attorney General in his testimony has stated, "I think that it is an injustice that needs to be remedied. We have to find the tools with which to remedy that injustice." In other words, regardless of the Constitution, he, through this legislation, asks for the power to run roughshod over the rights of every individual and dictate to every citizen what he could or could not do with his private property and business. Where is the equal protection of the law?

I challenge the newspapers and news media of our country to awaken the man on the street, the small business man, all those who respect law and order; to the fact that this legislation is an open attack on the rights of every individual to the control of his personal, private property.

Every citizen has the right to own and operate his own business as he sees fit without interference from any source. To give to an all-powerful Central Government the right to force the owner of a private business to unwillingly do business with anyone creates a new and special right for a minority group in this nation that destroys the property and personal rights of every citizen.



Senator Russell has stated and the press has failed to report, "Our American system has always rejected the idea that one group of citizens may deprive another of legal rights and property by process of agitation, demonstration, intimidation, law defiance and civil disobedience. Every Negro citizen possesses every right that is possessed by any white citizen. But there is nothing in either the Constitution or in Christian principles or common sense and reason which would compel one citizen to share his rights with one of another race at the same place and at the same time. Such compulsion would amount to a complete denial of inalienable rights of the individual to choose or select his associates."

Gentlemen, what could be more unequal and discriminatory than to give one particular class of citizens the privilege of by-passing the normal channels of justice, which other citizens must follow. Under this legislation, any agitator or trouble-maker or crank could bring the owner of any business establishment into Federal Court by merely writing a letter to the U. S. Attorney General. The agitator would be represented, at no cost to himself, by the officials and attorneys of the Federal Government. If this legislation passes, American citizens will have no rights in the ownership and use of their private property, unless they use it in a way that federal officialdom considers to be consistent with the so-called public interest. Today, it seems to many Americans, the demands of the racial agitation groups fix official opinion as to what is the public interest. Tomorrow, the public interest could well be something else. It could even invade the home--or even the bedroom of the individual.

The legitimate purpose of government is to protect a man's home as his castle. Does not this same basic American Constitutional fact of life apply equally to a man's own private business? The legislation you have under consideration would use federal police power (as exemplified in our system of Federal courts) to destroy a man's personal property simply to satisfy racial minorities. Can there be no end to the current insanity that would compel the mixing of races in social activities to achieve WHAT? You can name it yourself!

The head of the NAACP here in Washington, D. C. (where Negro criminal violence against white people is creating something akin to a reign of terror) said on a national television program in early May of this year, that Negro violence is coming and that the NAACP will promote the violence if whites do not immediately give the Negro what he demands. What does he demand. Does he honestly know just what he really wants? Whatever he may want will not come as a result of this or any other legislative act. You can be certain of that basic fact. The race problem can never be solved by passage of laws, court edicts, or by breaches of the peace.

#### ONE ESTABLISHMENT GOES OUT OF BUSINESS

I have said that the free enterprise system has contributed much to making our nation great and that many establishments would go out of business if they were required to integrate. I am prepared to give you one specific example in Mississippi.

Mrs. Marjorie Staley of Winona, Mississippi, has operated a restaurant as a Continental Trailways Bus Terminal for quite a while. Apparently, she was making good and had a good business but she was told to either integrate or close the business. She chose to close her business rather than integrate. It is my understanding that Trailways officials had been directed by the Justice Department to warn her to either close or integrate. She has approximately \$20,000.00 of equipment in the restaurant. She had seven or eight people employed -- three whites and three or four Negroes. She had a payroll of \$2,000.00 per month. Now her business is closed, seven or eight people, Negroes and whites, are out of employment, and she has \$20,000.00 worth of equipment on her hands.

Prior to the time she closed this business, she served both white and colored in separate compartments -- one for the whites and one for the Negroes. Apparently, everyone was happy the way it was being operated. Everyone was well pleased--customers as well as employees, and Mrs. Staley.

This is one example that neither Congress nor the courts can change attitudes and customs.

Mrs. Staley is a widow and earned her livelihood operating her restaurant.

There is a communist nation just 90 miles from our shores and yet, with this and all the other problems we face as a nation, the whole attention of the Congress and our nation at this critical era in history is diverted to this tragic and mis-named Civil Rights

legislation. Perhaps this is all a part of a great conspiracy to divert our attention to this domestic issue so that we may neglect other and far more important matters.

Gentlemen, I have done some research on this matter as to the constitutionality of the proposed bill.

Section 3 of Senate Bill 1732 provides that all persons shall be entitled, without discrimination or segregation on account of race, color, religion, or national origin, to the full and equal enjoyment of the goods, services, facilities, privileges, advantages, and accommodations of hotels, motels and numerous other private business enterprises.

Section 2(h) provides that alleged existing discriminatory practices "take on the character of action by the states and therefore fall within the ambit of the equal protection of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States."

Section 2(i) takes the position that Congress has the right to enact this proposed legislation in order to remove alleged burdens on and obstructions to commerce under the Commerce Clause of the Constitution of the United States.

Congress does not have the  
power to enact this legislation  
under the Fourteenth Amendment

The businesses sought to be controlled are purely private in character and as such fall within the ambit of what is commonly known as "free enterprise." Every loyal conservative American has a deep and abiding faith in our free enterprise system. He also stands ever vigilant to protect the citizen's right to own, control and operate his private business as he sees fit. The right to do business or to decline to do business with any individual is an inseparable part of said citizen's right to operate and control his privately owned business. If this right is destroyed by the Federal Government, the citizen has been deprived of one of his inalienable rights just as surely as though the Federal Government had confiscated his physical property.

*The Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United*

*States provides:*

"No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

It should be noted that the Fourteenth Amendment is a prohibition against State action. It is not a prohibition against the action of one citizen against another. Each individual has a legal right to discriminate against another individual. Any control over such individual action by the operation of a private business lies wholly within the power of the State legislatures under the Tenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. Some states have passed legislation similar to this; some have not. Each State has the right to make its own decision.

Mississippi has taken no action on this question. In our State the owner of each business is free to make his own decision as to whom he will serve.

Eighty years ago in United States v. Nichols, entitled the Civil Rights cases, 109 U.S. 3, 3 S.Ct. 18, 27 L.Ed. 835, the Supreme Court of the United States held Sections 1 and 2 of the Civil Rights Act of 1875 unconstitutional. Said acts provided that all persons in the United States were entitled to the full and equal enjoyment of accommodations, advantages, facilities and privileges of inns and places of amusement. In holding that Congress had no right to pass such a law under the Fourteenth Amendment, the Court said:

"It is state action of a particular character that is prohibited. Individual invasion of individual rights is not the subject-matter of the Amendment."

In pointing out the reasons Congress had no such power and why such attempted legislation on the part of Congress was repugnant to the Tenth Amendment, the Supreme Court said:

"And so in the present case, until some state law has been passed or some state action through its officers or agents has been taken, adverse to the rights of citizens sought to be protected by the 14th Amendment, no legislation of the United States under said Amendment, nor any proceeding under such legislation, can be called into activity; for the prohibitions of the Amendment are against state laws and acts under state authority."

\* \* \* \*

"Such legislation cannot properly cover the whole domain of rights appertaining to life, liberty and property, defining them and providing for their vindication. That would be to establish a code of municipal law regulative of all private rights between man and man in society. It would be to make Congress take the place of the State Legislatures and to supersede them. It is absurd to affirm that, because the rights of life, liberty and property, which include all civil rights that men have, are, by the Amendment sought to be protected against invasion on the part of the State without due process of law, Congress may, therefore provide due process of law for their vindication in every case; and that, because the denial by a State to any persons, of the equal protection of the laws, is prohibited by the Amendment, therefore Congress may establish laws for their equal protection. In fine, the legislation which Congress is authorized to adopt in this behalf

\* \* \* \*

\* \* \*

"If this legislation is appropriate for enforcing the prohibitions of the Amendment, it is difficult to see where it is to stop. Why may not Congress with equal show of authority enact a code of laws for the enforcement and vindication of all rights of life, liberty and property? If it is supposable that the States may deprive persons of life, liberty and property without due process of law, and the Amendment itself does suppose this, why should not Congress proceed at once to prescribe due process of law for the protection of every one of these fundamental rights, in every possible case, as well as to prescribe equal privileges in inns, public conveyances and theaters? The truth is, that the implication of a power to legislate in this manner is based

1970 THE ASSUMPTION THAT IF THE STATES ARE FORBIDDEN TO LEGISLATE  
ON ANY PARTICULAR WAY ON A PARTICULAR SUBJECT, AND POWER  
IS RESERVED FOR CONGRESS TO ENFORCE THE PROHIBITION, THAT

and not merely power to provide modes of redress against such state legislation or action. The assumption is certainly unsound. It is repugnant to the 10th Amendment of the Constitution, which declares that powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively or to the people."

The Civil Rights Cases arose out of the denial by a hotel of its accommodations to persons of color and the denial by theaters of their accommodation to colored persons. In 1959 a Howard Johnson Restaurant denied service to Charles E. Williams, a colored attorney for the Internal Revenue Service. He brought suit claiming that such action violated the Civil Rights Acts of 1875 and the Commerce Clause of the Federal Constitution. In Williams v. Howard Johnson Restaurants, U.S.C.A.4th, 268 F.2d 845, the Court re-affirmed the doctrine of the Civil Rights Cases, and said:

"Sections 1 and 2 of the Civil Rights Act of 1875, upon which the plaintiff's position is based in part, provided that all persons in the United States should be entitled to the full and equal enjoyment of accommodations, advantages, facilities and privileges of inns, public conveyances and places of amusement, and that any person who should violate this provision by denying to any citizen the full enjoyment of any of the enumerated accommodations, facilities or privileges should for every such offense forfeit and pay the sum of \$500 to the person aggrieved. The Supreme Court of the United States, however, held in Civil Rights Cases 109 U.S. 3, 3 S.Ct. 18, 27 L.Ed. 835, that these sections of the Act were unconstitutional and were not authorized by either the Thirteenth or Fourteenth Amendments of the Constitution. The Court pointed out that the Fourteenth Amendment was prohibitory upon the states only, so as to invalidate all state statutes which abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States or deprive them of life, liberty or property without due process of law, or deny to any person the equal protection of the laws; but that the amendment did not prevent Congress with power to legislate upon the subject of accommodations, which are within the domain of state legislation."

From a legal point of view, it is perfectly clear that Congress does not have the power to control the activities of private business owners under the Fourteenth Amendment.

Congress does not have the power to enact this legislation under the Commerce Clause of the Constitution of the United States.

Article I, Section VIII, Clause 3 provides:

"The Congress shall have Power: . . . to regulate Commerce with foreign Nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian Tribes; . . ."

No one can reasonably contend that the operation of a hotel, restaurant or drug store in Mississippi constitutes commerce among the several States. The Supreme Court of the United States clearly did not think so in the Civil Rights Cases, because it said:

"Has Congress constitutional power to make such a law? Of course, no one will contend that the power to pass it was contained in the Constitution before the adoption of the last three Amendments."

The last three Amendments referred to were the 13th, 14th, and 15th. The Commerce Clause was a part of the Constitution from its inception. The Supreme Court, therefore, said that no one would even contend that Congress had the power to pass such law prior to the adoption of the 13th Amendment.

Of course, the right to control commerce among the States includes the right to control interstate transportation, and Congress has done so in this field by Title 28 U.S.C.A., Section 3(1), which forbids a carrier to subject any person to undue or unreasonable prejudice or disadvantage in any respect. The right of the Congress to deny discrimination incident to interstate commerce has been upheld in a number of cases. Mitchell v. United States, 313 U.S. 80, 61 S.Ct. 873, 85 L.Ed. 1201;



Henderson v. United States, 339 U.S. 816, 70 S.Ct. 843, 94 L.Ed. 1302.

In like manner, the Supreme Court has also held that certain State action constituted an unlawful burden on interstate commerce in this field. Morgan v. Virginia, 328 U.S. 373, 66 S.Ct. 1050, 90 L.Ed. 1317.

In the Civil Rights Cases, the Supreme Court recognized the power of Congress to regulate public conveyances passing from one state to another, and said:

"And whether Congress, in the exercise of its power to regulate commerce amongst the several States, might or might not pass a law regulating rights in public conveyances passing from one State to another, is also a question which is not now before us, as the sections in question are not conceived in any such view."

It is clear, therefore, that the Supreme Court was not unmindful of the power of Congress under the Commerce Clause when it decided the Civil Rights Cases and when it held that no one would even contend that Congress had the right to pass this type of legislation under the Commerce Clause or prior to the adoption of the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments.

Who would seriously contend that the operation of a restaurant on Capitol Street in Jackson, Mississippi, could be classified as as commerce among the several States? If such action constitutes commerce among the States simply because some of the products handled were manufactured outside of Mississippi, every act of every citizen in every State could be controlled by Congress on the same basis. The Constitution should not be stretched entirely out of shape in an effort to reach what is believed by some to be an evil, the correction of which is a matter for each State to make its own decision. This issue was raised in Williams v. Howard Johnson Restaurant, supra, and was held not to fall within the Commerce Clause of the Constitution.

~~The Court held:~~

~~"The plaintiff makes the additional contention that in the allegations that the defendant restaurant is engaged in~~

interstate commerce because it is located beside an interstate highway and serves interstate travelers. He suggests that a Federal policy has been developed in numerous decisions which requires the elimination of racial restrictions on transportation in interstate commerce and the admission of Negroes to railroad cars, sleeping cars and dining cars without discrimination as to color; and he argues that the commerce clause of the Constitution (Article I, Section 8, Clause 3), which empowers Congress to regulate commerce among the states, is self-executing so that even without a prohibitory statute no person engaged in interstate commerce may place undue restrictions upon it.

"The cases upon which the plaintiff relies in each instance disclosed discriminatory action against persons of the colored race by carriers engaged in the transportation of passengers in interstate commerce."

"In every instance the conduct condemned was that of an organization directly engaged in interstate commerce and the line of authority would be persuasive in the determination of the present controversy if it could be said that the defendant restaurant was so engaged. We think, however, that the cases cited are not applicable because we do not find that a restaurant is engaged in interstate commerce merely because in the course of its business of furnishing accommodations to the general public it serves persons who are traveling from state to state.

As an instrument of local commerce, the restaurant is not subject to the constitutional and statutory provisions discussed above and, thus, is at liberty to deal with such persons as it may select."

Neither the fact that some customers of an establishment may be travelling in interstate commerce nor the fact that some of the goods sold may have been purchased from outside the state

CONSTITUTIONAL COMMERCE

subject to control by Congress. In Elm Beth Hospital, Inc. v. Richardson, U.S.C.A.8th, 269 F.2d 167, the Court held that the treatment of some patients who were travelling in interstate commerce did not destroy the purely local character of the services furnished by the hospital, and said:

"The fact that some of plaintiff's patients might travel in interstate commerce does not alter the local character of plaintiff's hospital. If the converse were true, every country store that obtains its goods from or serves customers residing outside the state would be selling in interstate commerce. Uniformly, the courts have held to the contrary. A.L.A. Schechter Poultry Corp. v. United States, 1935, 295 U.S. 495, 55 S. Ct. 837, 79 L.Ed. 1570; Lawson v. Woodmere, 4 Cir., 1954, 217 F.2d 148, 150; Jewel Tea Co. v. Williams, 10 Cir., 1941, 118 F.2d 202, 207; Lipson v. Socony-Vacuum Corp., 1 Cir., 1937, 87 F. 2d 265, 267, certiorari granted 300 U.S. 651, 57 S.Ct. 612, 81 L.Ed. 862 certiorari dismissed 301 U.S. 711, 57 S.Ct. 788, 81 L.Ed. 1364."

Congress is now asked to control the operation of country stores and hotels on the theory that their operation constitutes commerce among the several States. The statement of the proposition is so ridiculous that it need not be further refuted.

It is my understanding that the Attorney General of the United States has suggested to this Committee that it disregard the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the Civil Rights Cases. I have always been under the impression that it was the duty of the Attorney General of the United States to advise congressional committees as to the present status of the law. I do not believe he has the authority to recommend to you that you exercise, on behalf of the Federal Government, power

In conclusion, I would like to ask certain members of the Congress two questions: (1) How long do you plan to bow to the unreasonable and unconstitutional demands of selfish minorities in your state? (2) When do you expect to begin to represent the great majority of your own people?

Another question naturally follows--how far do you think the great white majority of this nation will stand to be pushed?

I have received and am receiving daily letters from substantial everyday citizens in every state of this nation and I say to you seriously that our fine white citizens have stood just about as much of this minority insanity as they can take.

Gentlemen, you are just about to hear from that great, silent, substantial white majority back home.

When John Doe and Ole Joe Q. Doakes on Main Street in every city, town, village and cross-road in your state, finds out exactly what is really in this legislation--just what the present U.S. Attorney General and the Negro minorities want today--turmoil will really break loose in this nation.

If you think 500,000 Negroes marching on Washington is something, pass this legislation and you'll find out what one hundred million angry white Americans will do.

Please think deeply on these matters. Think seriously as to how much the white man will take in having his rights chipped away with new legislation such as this and by each decision of the Federal Courts. Are there no rights of the individual sacred today in this country?

Equality in a social sense is attainable only in total slavery. Justice Brandeis said, "One of the inalienable rights of men is to be let alone." This certainly applies to the hard-working, small business man?

Why should not the individual, who has worked to produce his own business, have the right to decide whom he will serve, whom he will associate with, and whom he will let in his premises?

What we are about to experience in our nation today is tyranny of the mob. The intent of this legislation is to steal away the fundamental rights of man to own and manage his private property as he sees fit.

The President and Attorney General are sewing the seeds of hate and violence. The nation could reap a bloody harvest. Gentlemen, if you pass this Civil Rights legislation, you are passing it under the threat of mob action and violence on the part of Negro groups and under various types of intimidation from the Executive Branch of this government. This legislation must be defeated if this nation is to survive as a Constitutional Republic of Sovereign States.

The decision is yours. May God have mercy on your souls!

THE END

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO : Mr. Belmont

DATE: July 29, 1963

FROM : C. A. Evans

SUBJECT: REQUESTS FROM MEMBERS OF  
CONGRESS CONCERNING ALLEGED  
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN THE  
CURRENT RACIAL SITUATION

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
 Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
 DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
 Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
 Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
 Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Assistant Attorney General Burke Marshall of the Civil Rights Division was contacted this morning and this matter was discussed with him further. He pointed out that he had not received any additional requests for such information as to communist influence in the racial situation from any other members of Congress but that he fully expected there would be further inquiries. In this connection it was pointed out to Marshall the undesirability of making the specific comments previously noted as to giving complete clearance to Martin Luther King and the use of the language "communist-controlled" as Marshall has had full details as to King's association with Stanley Levison, the concealed communist, and Hunter Pitts O'Dell, who had been elected to the National Committee of the Communist Party (USA), 1959 under an alias.

In addition, as a illustration, Marshall was informed of the case involving Lee Pressman who had denied for years being a communist and then later admitted it for a Congressional Committee.

Marshall said that he was most appreciative of our warning him about these pitfalls and he would be guided accordingly in any future statements. He added that he would also appreciate our continuing to highlight for him any information indicating communist activity in the Negro movement.

Marshall said he had been endeavoring to see Senators Monroney (D. - Okla.) and Magnuson (D. - Washington) but had not accomplished this to date. Senator Magnuson is reportedly seriously ill in the hospital; (This has not been publicized.) and Senator Monroney has cancelled two appointments Marshall had with him as Monroney was tied up with the railroad strike legislation.

1 - Mr. Mohr

1 - Mr. DeLoach

1 - Mr. Rosen

1 - Mr. Sullivan

1 - Mr. McGowan

CAE:pew (9)

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Memorandum to Mr. Belmont  
RE: REQUESTS FROM MEMBERS OF  
CONGRESS CONCERNING ALLEGED  
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN THE  
CURRENT RACIAL SITUATION

Marshall said that over the weekend he had received information that the United Mine, Mill and Smelters Workers in Savannah was making available office space for use by the Negro groups. He noted that the Negroes are short of funds and are prone to accept aid wherever they can obtain it. If this represents communist activity in Savannah, Marshall said he would appreciate receiving any details we might obtain.

ACTION TO BE TAKEN:

The Savannah Division will be instructed to ascertain whether the local of the United Mine, Mill and Smelters Workers in Savannah is subjected to communist influence at this time and whether such influence may be a factor in the support that union is reportedly to be currently giving to the Negro movement. A memorandum should be prepared following the results of this inquiry.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO : MR. BELMONT *alb*

DATE: 7/19/63

FROM : C. A. Evans *✓*SUBJECT: *matter - general*  
RACIAL SITUATIONcc Mr. Belmont  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Sullivan  
Mr. Evans  
Mr. McGowan  
Mr. Baumgardner

Tolson	_____
Belmont	_____
Mohr	_____
Casper	_____
Callahan	_____
Conrad	_____
Felt	_____
Gale	_____
Rosen	_____
Sullivan	_____
Tavel	_____
Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holmes	_____
Gandy	_____

In talking with the Attorney General and Assistant AG Marshall, of the Civil Rights Division, reference was made to our earlier conversation concerning Congressional requests which had been received by the Director, relating to alleged communist influence in the racial demonstrations. The Department's original position was that there was no immediate urgency in recontacting Senator Monroney, in view of recent contacts had with him by Departmental representatives. Today, I pointed out that these requests should not be allowed to remain unresolved too long.

Assistant AG Marshall advised that he had drafted a proposed letter to be used in replying to these Congressional requests, since he had ascertained that a written reply is desired, particularly by Senator Monroney. In his letter Marshall proposes to paraphrase the President's statement at his press conference on 7/17/63. Marshall's letter will, of course, make no reference to the President's statement, but merely indicate that this is the conclusion, predicated upon reports and other information supplied to the Department.

In those instances where the Department is dealing with a Member of Congress believed to be trustworthy, Marshall plans to deliver his letters personally and to explain that the classified nature of the reports precludes the furnishing of specific information in writing or in testimony. Marshall feels that he can talk confidentially in this way to Senator Magnuson and thus forestall any requests for further information. It was noted that, as a result of the Director's conversation with the Attorney General, Marshall had spoken with Martin Luther King about the dangers of his associating with Stanley Levison and accepting assistance from him. It was, therefore, believed that since this may get back to Members of Congress, Marshall should talk with the individual Senators, where this can be done on a confidential basis.

Marshall said he would, of course, keep us advised of the results of his contacts in this regard.

CAE:CSH (7) *B*REC-35 *✓*

JUL 30 1963

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SSC LETTER 10-6-75

ITEM 7f

#MDR 16  
SP-2ALM 1275  
11-1-00

Scu1008

100  
The Attorney General

July 31, 1963

Director, FBI

HUNTER PITTS O'DELL  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C  
INTERNAL SECURITY ACT OF 1950

1 - Mr. Belmont  
1 - Mr. Mohr  
1 - Mr. DeLoach  
1 - Mr. Evans  
1 - Mr. Sullivan  
1 - Mr. Malmfeldt  
1 - Mr. Brennan  
1 - Mr. Baumgardner  
1 - Mr. Bland 1 - Mr. Ryan

There is attached for your consideration a copy of a letter dated July 27, 1963, received from Senator Richard D. Russell, together with a copy of the July 25, 1963, article in the Atlanta, Georgia, "Constitution" entitled "Cnetime Communist Organizer Heads Rev. King's Office in N.Y." I have advised Senator Russell by letter of this date that, in line with Departmental policy, I am referring his letter to you.

You have been kept advised by communications, the latest of which was dated July 17, 1963, captioned "Request From Senator Monroney Concerning Racial Agitation," of Hunter Pitts O'Dell's association with the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., and with the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). In addition, copies of investigative reports concerning O'Dell have been submitted to the Internal Security Division of the Department of Justice on a continuing basis. The last such report submitted was dated June 28, 1963, at New York, New York.

For your further information, a telephone call to the office of the SCLC in New York City on July 30, 1963, resulted in a statement by an unidentified female employee that Hunter Pitts O'Dell was no longer employed by the SCLC.

Enclosures - 2

ENC-25  
100-358916-250

1 - The Deputy Attorney General (Enclosures - 2)

1 - Mr. Burke Marshall (Enclosures - 2)

Assistant Attorney General

**NOTE:**

See memorandum Baumgardner to Sullivan, same subject, dated 7/30/63, EBR:DR:erc:pw: [initials]

EBR:dfm:erc  
(15)

July 31, 1963

1 - Mr. Belmont  
1 - Mr. Mohr  
1 - Mr. DeLoach  
1 - Mr. Evans  
1 - Mr. Sullivan  
1 - Mr. Malmfeldt  
1 - Mr. Brennan  
1 - Mr. Baumgardner  
1 - Mr. Bland  
1 - Mr. Ryan

Honorable Richard B. Russell  
United States Senate  
Washington, D. C.

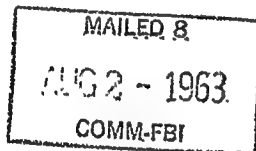
My dear Senator:

Reference is made to your letter dated July 27, 1963, requesting advice regarding an article which appeared in the Atlanta, Georgia, "Constitution" of Thursday, July 25, 1963, captioned "Onetime Communist Organizer Heads Rev. King's Office in N.Y."

In response to your inquiry and in line with Departmental policy, I am referring your letter to the Attorney General for his consideration. I trust you will understand my position.

Sincerely yours,

L. Edgar Hoover



NOTE:

See memorandum Baumgardner to Sullivan dated July 30, 1963, captioned "Hunter Pitts O'Dell, Internal Security - C, Internal Security Act of 1950."  
EBR:DR:erc:pw.

EBR:erc  
(12)

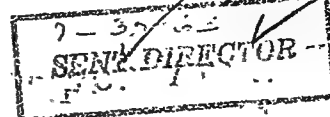
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Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

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REC-66

19 AUG 5 1963



RICHARD B. RUSSELL, GA., CHAIRMAN  
 JOHN STENNIS, MISS.  
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 STUART SYMINGTON, MO.  
 HENRY M. JACKSON, WASH.  
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 BARRY GOLDWATER, ARIZ.  
 CLIFFORD P. CASE, N.J.

HARRY L. WINGATE, JR., CHIEF CLERK

# United States Senate COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES

July 27, 1963

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Evans	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

Honorable J. Edgar Hoover, Director  
 Federal Bureau of Investigation  
 Department of Justice  
 Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Permit me to call to your attention the article,  
 "Onetime Communist Organizer Heads Rev. King's Office in  
 N.Y." which I have marked on the attached tearsheets from  
 the Atlanta, Georgia CONSTITUTION of Thursday, July 25,  
 1963.

I would appreciate your advising me as to whether  
 the information contained in this article is correct  
 according to your records and whether this information  
 was available to you when you advised the Attorney General  
 that in your opinion there was no Communist connection  
 with the Southern Christian Leadership Conference which  
 is conducted by Martin Luther King.

Sincerely,

*Richard B. Russell*

Richard B. Russell

REC-25/00

EX-103

JUL 29 1963

250

ENCLOSURE

*7/30/63*  
*Memo Baumgardner to Sullivan (encls)*  
*Letter AG (encls) DAG (encls) 7/31/63*  
*MS Burke manuscript (encls) 7/31/63*  
*Letter Senator Russell 7/31/63*  
*Ref: DL: enc*

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

#mde 16

11-1-00 SP 2ALM 1716

# Onetime Communist Organizer Heads Rev. King's Office in N.Y.

By BILL SHIPP  
Constitution State News Editor  
(Copyright, 1963, by the  
Atlanta Constitution)

A 39-year-old Negro, who has been identified as a district organizer for the Communist Party, USA, is now director of the New York Office of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

He is Jack H. O'Dell, who resides at 488 St. Nicholas Ave., New York City.

Dr. King said on Oct. 31, 1962 that O'Dell had resigned from SCLC. He said again on Dec. 1 that O'Dell was no longer with SCLC. And one of Dr. King's aides told the Constitution on July 18, 1963 that O'Dell was no longer with SCLC.

O'Dell, who works in the New York SCLC office at 312 W. 125th Street, has in recent months been engaged in fund-raising activities and mailing literature for Dr. King's organization.

Once in December, 1962, and on three occasions in January, 1963, O'Dell registered at the Wauhatche apartments in Atlanta as a representative of SCLC.

In January 1963, O'Dell, Dr. King and other officials of SCLC flew together to Savannah on a Delta Air Lines plane.

O'Dell's expenses for at least one of his trips to Atlanta were paid by SCLC.

Among those working out of the SCLC office in New York is Benjamin Van Clarke, 19, executive secretary of the Chatham County Crusade for Voters and a leader of recent massive night street demonstrations in Savannah.

Dr. King announced O'Dell's resignation last fall after news stories appeared in the St. Louis Globe-Democrat and the New Orleans Times-Picayune labeling O'Dell a Communist.

Dr. King said at the time that O'Dell had worked briefly and temporarily as a technician in SCLC voter registration projects, but "ceased functioning there long before this publicity appeared."

King denied that O'Dell had served as southeastern director of SCLC.

"He has never had any administrative post in SCLC," King said.

O'Dell, born in Detroit, was identified with the Communist Party as late as 1958.

O'Dell, who also is known as Hunter Pitts O'Dell, has been identified by Robert Morris, counsel for the internal securities subcommittee of the U.S. Senate, as an organizer for the Communist Party, U.S.A., in the New Orleans, La., area.

At the time he was an organizer, O'Dell was employed as a waiter in New Orleans. O'Dell also has been identified as a member of the National Committee of the Community Party, U.S.A.

Morris said that O'Dell also has given directions for Communist activities under the names, John Vesey and Ben Jones.

He attended SCLC's civil rights school at Dorchester Center in Liberty County in 1962.

The SCLC "Citizenship Workbook," used at the SCLC school at Dorchester, lists J. H. O'Dell as present Nov. 20, 1961, announcing that Jack O'Dell of SCLC would address a civil rights conference. O'Dell did not show up for the meeting.

In July 1958, O'Dell was called to testify before the House Committee on Un-American Activities which was then convened in Atlanta.

O'Dell was identified by a committee counsel at the hearing as a "dedicated zealot" to the Communist cause.

At that time, O'Dell gave his employment as an insurance agent in Montgomery, Ala. His name was listed as Hunter Pitts O'Dell.

At the hearing, O'Dell contended "all the immunity the Constitution gives me as a Negro - the First and Fifth amendments and any others" in refusing to say whether he was a Communist.

Richard Arens, chief counsel for the committee, displayed a Communist plan for activities in the South for the years 1955 and as a staff consultant on the Voter Education Project.

The Rev. Andrew Young, administrator of the SCLC school at Dorchester, said O'Dell resigned from SCLC last fall, pending an investigation of his activities by SCLC.

"Nothing was found to indicate that he was a Communist," the Rev. Mr. Young said. "But the resignation was made permanent."

The SCLC is a tax-exempt organization under Georgia and federal tax regulations.

O'Dell said in January of 1962 that he had severed all ties with the Communist Party.

O'Dell was an organizer of a "Freedom Rally" in Macon in 1962 at which Dr. King was the announced speaker.

The National Guardian, a leftist newspaper, carried an advertisement in 1956. He said the plan was taken from the premises occupied by O'Dell in New Orleans.

Arens also said O'Dell was identified in 1957 as the "top man" in Louisiana communism since 1950 and as a former seaman who had been expelled from the CIO National Maritime Union for

ENCLOSURE

-250

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan *WCS*

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner *FJB*

SUBJECT: HUNTER PITTS O'DELL  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C  
INTERNAL SECURITY ACT OF 1950

DATE: July 30, 1963

1-Mr. Belmont  
1-Mr. Mohr  
1-Mr. DeLoach  
1-Mr. Evans  
1-Mr. Sullivan  
1-Mr. Malmfeldt  
1-Mr. Brennan  
1-Mr. Baumgardner  
1-Mr. Bland  
1-Mr. Ryan

*Handwritten initials and marks*

Tolson	
Belmont	
Mohr	
Casper	
Callahan	
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Tele. Room	
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By letter to the Director dated July 27, 1963, Senator Richard B. Russell referred to an article in the Atlanta, Georgia, "Constitution" of July 25, 1963, entitled "Onetime Communist Organizer Heads Rev. King's Office in N.Y." This article concerned Hunter Pitts O'Dell and identifies him as Director of the New York Office of King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). The article further states that O'Dell was District Organizer and a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA).

Senator Russell requested advice as to whether the information contained in this article is correct according to FBI records and whether this information was available to the Director when the Attorney General was advised that "...in your (the Director's) opinion there was no communist connection with the Southern Christian Leadership Conference which is headed by Dr. Martin Luther King."

The information in the article in the Atlanta, Georgia, "Constitution" is substantially correct. The Bureau cannot, however, support the statement that O'Dell is currently in charge of the New York Office of the SCLC although in October, 1961, he claimed to be in charge of the office and as late as July 24, 1963, was conducting business on behalf of the SCLC. However, a telephone call to the SCLC office in New York City on July 30, 1963, resulted in the receipt of information from an unidentified female employee that Hunter Pitts O'Dell was no longer employed by the SCLC.

We have previously furnished the Department copies of our investigative reports setting out the background and communist affiliation of O'Dell and his connection with the SCLC and with Rev. Martin Luther King. By separate communications to the Attorney General, the latest dated July 17, 1963, we have kept the Attorney General advised of the continuing relationship of Hunter Pitts O'Dell with King and the SCLC.

sent 8-2-63  
100-358916

EBR:DR:erc:pw  
(11)

7-30-63  
SENT DIRECTOR  
FOR APPROVAL

Memorandum to Mr. Sullivan  
RE: HUNTER PITTS O'DELL  
100-358916

Although we could, of course, respond directly to Senator Russell's inquiry, such action could well result in the Director's being subpoenaed. We believe the Senator's communication should be handled by referring it to the Attorney General for his consideration. We have followed this procedure in connection with prior correspondence from members of Congress regarding possible communist activity in the current racial situation. In the transmittal letter to the Attorney General, we are pointing out that the Bureau has submitted investigative reports regarding O'Dell to the Department of Justice and that by letter dated July 17, 1963, and in prior communications directed to him, we have furnished the highlights and pertinent information regarding O'Dell's Communist Party affiliation and his connections with King and the SCLC.

We are also directing a short note to Senator Russell acknowledging receipt of his communication and advising that, in line with Department policy, his letter has been transmitted to the Attorney General for appropriate consideration.

RECOMMENDATION:

That the enclosed letters be transmitted.

UBR  
for  
WES  
GR  
H

SSC LETTER 10-6-75

ITEM 8

#mde16  
11-1-00 SP-2 Alm / JLG

RET. 21 IV

See 1008



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO : Mr. Belmont *abw*

DATE: August 1, 1963

FROM : C. A. Evans *L*SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
SECURITY MATTER - C

Tolson	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
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Callahan	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Conrad	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DeLoach	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
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Tavel	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Trotter	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Tele. Room	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Holmes	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Gandy	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

#MDR16

11-2-00 1SP2 ALM/7TG

The Attorney General asked me to see him this morning. On being contacted he handed me a copy of the report in captioned matter prepared by Special Agent Daniel J. Quigley at New York dated July 22, 1963, classified secret, which had been transmitted to the Records Administration Office of the Department by Form O-6 dated July 29, 1963.

The Attorney General read the synopsis of the report which is: "Subject described as a confirmed Marxist - Leninist as of June, 1963. Information concerning subject's association during 1962, and 1963, with Stanley Levison and Hunter Pitts O'Dell, described as CP members set forth." The Attorney General also referred to the statement on page two of the report under the heading "Evidence of Communist Party Sympathies; Martin Luther King, Jr. has been described as confirmed Marxist - Leninist. (NY T-1, June, 1963.)"

The Attorney General stated that if this report got up to the Hill at this time, he would be impeached. He noted that if this report got out, it would be alleged the FBI said King was a confirmed Marxist - Leninist as late as June, 1963. The Attorney General went on to say that the report had been reviewed in detail by Assistant Attorney General Burke Marshall who had told him there wasn't anything new here concerning King's alleged communist sympathies but that it was the timing of the report and its possible misuse which concerned him. The Attorney General went on to say that he didn't feel he could fully trust everyone in the Internal Security Division of the Department.

I pointed out to the Attorney General that first of all this report was classified secret and was just a summary report to bring our files and that of the Department's up to date. He said that while this was undoubtedly true, the submission of the report at this time in this form presented definite hazards. He

CAE:pew  
(7)

- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan

REC-44

ENCLOSURE

ENCLOSURE

79 SEP 10 1963

This document is prepared in response to a request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

Memorandum to Mr. Belmont  
RE: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

therefore asked that the report be resubmitted to him with a cover memorandum setting forth the exact evidence available to support the statement that King has been described as a confirmed Marxist - Leninist as of June, 1963.

ACTION BEING TAKEN:

*Sensitive Foreign Intelligence Operation*

The Domestic Intelligence Division has been alerted to the Attorney General's request and is preparing a memorandum to him which will serve as a cover in resubmitting the New York report.

✓  
js

~~SECRET~~

The Attorney General

Director, FBI

1 - Mr. Belmont  
1 - Mr. Mohr  
1 - Mr. DeLoach  
1 - Mr. Evans August 2, 1963  
1 - Mr. Sullivan  
1 - Mr. Bland  
1 - Mr. Forsyth

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
SECURITY MATTER - C  
RACIAL MATTERS

#MD16 SP2 Hm 1796

11-2-00

NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION  
Unauthorized Disclosure  
Subject to Criminal Sanctions

Reference is made to your conversation with Assistant Director Courtney A. Evans of this Bureau on August 1, 1963.

I am enclosing for your information one copy of a report dated July 22, 1963, concerning captioned individual.

This report contains information to the effect that Martin Luther King, Jr., was described as a confirmed Marxist-Leninist as of June, 1963. This description of King as a confirmed Marxist-Leninist was made by one man, Stanley Levison, a New York attorney and businessman who is a secret member of the Communist Party and a close associate of King. He made the statement twice, first in 1962 and again in 1963.)

In this connection, your attention is invited to my letter of February 14, 1962, in captioned matter and to my letter of July 17, 1963, captioned "Request From Senator Monroney Concerning Current Racial Agitation," both of which contain information to the effect that Levison has characterized King as a "wholehearted Marxist" who has studied Marxism, believes in it but cannot publicly espouse it because of his position.

This letter and report are classified "~~Secret~~" in view of the highly sensitive position held by the informant.

Enclosure

100-106670-203

DO NOT WRITE  
REC'D

NOTE: See memo Bland to Sullivan dated August 1, 1963, captioned "Martin Luther King, Jr. Security Matter - C," TDR/mea.

~~SECRET~~

SEND DIRECTOR  
FOR APPROVAL

GROUP 1  
Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

SEP 10 1963  
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Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: August 1, 1963

FROM : Mr. J. F. Bland

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Evans
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Bland
- 1 - Mr. Forsyth

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
SECURITY MATTER - C

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
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Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Reference is made to memorandum Mr. Evans to Mr. Belmont dated August 1, 1963, captioned as above (attached) setting forth the results of a conversation between Mr. Evans and the Attorney General concerning a statement in a report furnished the Department on King to the effect that King was described as a confirmed Marxist-Leninist as of June, 1963.

The Attorney General asked that the report be resubmitted to him with a cover memorandum setting forth the exact evidence available to support the statement that King had been described as a confirmed Marxist-Leninist as of June, 1963.

The source of the information is the highly placed informant NY 694-S\*, who, in a discussion with Lement Harris, CPUSA Reserve Functionary, on June 12, 1963, was informed by Harris that Stanley Levison had personally congratulated King on his handling of a particular matter and in doing so stated that "you (King) are a real Marxist-Leninist." This is how a true Marxist-Leninist acts. Because of the highly sensitive position held by the informant, this information was paraphrased in the report of July 22, 1963, in order to protect his identity.

The above is not new information. In a letter to the Attorney General dated February 14, 1962, we reported that Levison had characterized King as "a wholehearted Marxist" and as being individual who has studied Marxism and believes in it but cannot espouse it because of his position. Similar information was furnished the Attorney General by letter dated July 17, 1963, in connection with a request from Senator Monroney (D-Oklahoma) concerning current racial agitation.

## ACTION:

In accordance with the Attorney General's request, there is attached a letter containing as an enclosure a copy of the report of July 22, 1963. In the letter we are pointing out

Enc.  
100-106670

TDR/mea  
(8)

SENT DIRECTOR  
FOR APPROVAL  
8/1/63

REC-44 100-106670-2

22 SEP 10 1963

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is restricted to official proceedings by authorized persons.

Memorandum for Mr. Sullivan  
RE: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
100-106670

*Source of info Detail Operation*  
the source of the description of King as a confirmed Marxist-Leninist, namely Stanley Levison, a secret member of the Communist Party and a close associate of King. In addition, we are drawing his attention to the fact that similar information was made available to him in the letters of February 14, 1962, and July 17, 1963, mentioned above. It is believed that this letter and its enclosure should be personally delivered to the Attorney General by Mr. Evans.

*For J. Edgar Hoover W.C.S.*

*Done  
8/5/63  
E*

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

REPORTING OFFICE <b>NEW YORK</b>	OFFICE OF ORIGIN <b>ATLANTA</b>	DATE <b>7/22/63</b>	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD <b>5/7-7/12/63</b>
TITLE OF CASE <b>MARTIN LUTHER KING JR.</b>		REPORT MADE BY <b>DANIEL J. QUIGLEY</b>	TYPED BY <b>mbo</b>
		CHARACTER OF CASE <b>SECURITY MATTER-C</b>	

## REFERENCES:

Report of SA ROBERT R. NICHOLS at Atlanta,  
dated 5/3/63.  
Report of SA JOHN J. ELLIOT at New York,  
dated 4/13/62.  
Bulet to New York, 5/1/62.

- RUC -

## ADMINISTRATIVE:

This report is classified "Secret" since information furnished by NY T-1 could reasonably result in the identification of this source, and thus impair the future effectiveness thereof, which impairment would have an adverse effect upon the national defense of the United States.

APPROVED

SPECIAL AGENT  
IN CHARGE

COPIES MADE:

4-Bureau (100-106670) (RM)  
3-Atlanta (100-5586) (RM)  
1-New York (100-136585)

~~COPIES DESTROYED~~~~8 APR 8 1974~~

## DISSEMINATION RECORD OF ATTACHED REPORT

AGENCY	WFO		
REQUEST RECD.			
DATE FWD.	7/29/63		
HOW FWD.	NY		
BY	WFO		

## NOTATIONS

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

100-106670-162

8 JUL 24 1963

700 SE 3 30 14 63  
SUBV. CONTROL  
NOW FILED  
REC'D

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-136585

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The following information is being reported under the administrative data inasmuch as by its nature, said information tends to identify NY 694-S\*, a valuable informant, as the source. Unless this information is obtained from a source other than NY 694-S\*, it is not to be included, even in paraphrased form, in the investigative section of a report:

On 6/13/63, NY 694-S\* furnished the following information to SA ALEXANDER C. BURLINSON:

On 6/12/63, LEMENT HARRIS, CP, [USA Reserve Fund functionary] told NY 694-S\* that in a recent meeting with ~~STANLEY LEVISON~~, the latter furnished him the following information:

*SENSITIVE  
RECEIVED  
INTELLIGENCE  
CP-RIN*

The LEVISONs, particularly STANLEY, are still MARTIN LUTHER KING's "brain trust"--now more than ever before. This is so despite the fact that at a meeting of STANLEY LEVISON, ROY LEVISON, HUNTER PITTS O'DELL, MARTIN LUTHER KING and "the Attorney General's chief assistant," the Attorney General's assistant, pointing to the LEVISONs and HUNTER PITTS O'DELL, stated to MARTIN LUTHER KING, "These men are Party members; watch out for them."

MARTIN LUTHER KING did not "bat an eyelash" upon hearing the Assistant Attorney General's remark, and after the latter left the meeting, those in the group smiled at each other. STANLEY LEVISON said to KING, at this time, "I congratulate you on the way you acted regarding this warning. You are a real Marxist-Leninist. This is how a true Marxist-Leninist acts."

Everything that KING does he first discusses with STANLEY LEVISON and he accepts LEVISON's advice wholeheartedly. KING also wholeheartedly accepts the advice of HUNTER PITTS O'DELL as regards matters within the latter's local jurisdiction.

- B -  
COVER PAGE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MARTIN LUTHER KING was asked by a group of newspaper reporters whether he takes orders from "the Communists," and also, whether he took "orders from STANLEY LEVISON." KING's response was that he took orders only from God.

By reason of the fact that the LEVISONs feel that the Party has done little, if anything, to assist the fight for civil rights for Negroes, and further, since they feel that the Party, as a result of this "do nothing" attitude, has lost prestige, they will no longer permit the Party to dominate or control their activities in the MARTIN LUTHER KING movement. They are severing themselves financially and in a disciplinary way, from the Party. The LEVISONs and O'DELL are still Party members but do not desire to be openly "linked up" with the Party. Although they are "disenchanted" with the Party, they are not quitting the Party. With respect to the MARTIN LUTHER KING movement, they will act on their own initiative and will not accept instructions from the Party.

LEM HARRIS then advised that the Party, however, still would like to control the MARTIN LUTHER KING movement. BEN DAVIS has been assigned to be "liaison or intermediary" with the LEVISONs and HUNTER PITTS O'DELL. Whether or not the LEVISONs and O'DELL will maintain liaison regarding matters concerning the MARTIN LUTHER KING movement is a matter for them to decide. In view of LEVISON's statement with respect to advising MARTIN LUTHER KING independently of Party instructions, it would seem that DAVIS may not have any success in maintaining liaison with the LEVISONs and HUNTER PITTS O'DELL. The LEVISONs and O'DELL are aware of the fact that BEN DAVIS has been given this assignment by the Party.

SENSITIVE  
FBI  
INTERNAL SECURITY  
OPERATION

- C -

COVER PAGE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



NY 100-136585

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

*SENSITIVE  
Foreign  
Intell  
CP/Comm*

MARTIN LUTHER KING, according to LEM HARRIS, is referred to by such top Party functionaries as GUS HALL, BEN DAVIS, JIM JACKSON, and CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT as a "true, genuine, Marxist-Leninist from the top of his head to the tips of his toes." In the Party, the report is that MARTIN LUTHER KING is following a Marxist-Leninist line.

NY 694-S\* advised that he asked LEM HARRIS whether or not, to the latter's knowledge, MARTIN LUTHER KING was a member of the CP, USA. LEM HARRIS replied that he did not know.

On 7/23/62, NY 694-S\* advised that on that date GUS HALL, General Secretary, CP, USA, stated that HUNTER PITTS O'DELL is still representing the CP, USA and that he is still on the National Committee, CP, USA. HALL further remarked that O'DELL is a "brain trust" for "LUTHER KING" and is doing an excellent job.

INFORMANTS:

Identity of Source

File Number Where Located

NY T-1

NY 694-S\*

NY T-2

NY 3903-S\*

[134-9091A-47] (S)(U)

NY T-3

NY 2750-S\*

INFORMANT  
characterization of BEN DAVIS.

NY T-4

NY 3575-S\*

NY T-5

NY 3580-S\*

NY T-6

NY 3810-S\*

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COVER PAGE

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NY 100-136585

Identity of Source

File Number Where Located

NY T-7

ALBERT BROWN

Chairman, Columbia

IVL in 1954

(per request)

CONF SOURCE

characterization of CLARENCE JONES.

NY T-8

EDWARD MORAN

Assistant Clerk

Appellate Division

First Department

NYS Supreme Court

Madison Ave and 25th

Street, NYC

(per request)

CONF SOURCE

characterization of CLARENCE JONES.

The following sources were contacted in May and June, 1963, and had no information concerning the subject not previously reported:

NY 2299-S

NY 1117-S

NY 3624-S

NY 2381-S

NY 2207-S

NY 939-S

NY 3359-S

NY 1587-S

INFORMANTS

- E\* -

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

## Copy to:

Report of:

DANIEL J. QUIGLEY

Office: New York, New York

Date:

7/22/63

Field Office File #:

100-130505

Bureau File #: 100-106670

Title:

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

Character:

SECURITY MATTER-C

Synopsis:

*SENSITIVE FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE OPERATION*  
Subject described as a confirmed Marxist-Leninist as of June, 1963. Information concerning subject's association during 1962, and 1963, with STANLEY LEVISON and HUNTER PITTS O'DELL described as CP members set forth.

- RUC -

DECLASSIFIED BY *PS RMB/GCL*  
ON *3/17/94* ... (*SPK*) ...

NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION  
Unauthorized Disclosure  
Subject to Criminal Sanctions

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DETAILS:

AFFILIATION WITH THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

A. Evidence of Communist Party Sympathies

*Do Not Disseminate to*  
~~MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.~~ has been described  
as a confirmed Marxist-Leninist.

NY T-1  
June, 1963

B. Support of the Communist Party (CP)

On May 17, 1963, BEN DAVIS wrote a letter to Reverend MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. stating that he completely supports his work, and that he (DAVIS) and his co-workers are 100% for him. DAVIS hopes they can "get together" when KING comes to New York City.

NY T-2  
May 17, 1963

BENJAMIN J. DAVIS 51

BENJAMIN J. DAVIS on May 6, 1962, stated he is National Secretary of the Communist Party, United States of America (CP, USA).

NY T-3  
May 7, 1962

C. CP Associates

1. STANLEY LEVISON 51

As of February, 1963, STANLEY LEVISON was a secret member of the CP, USA and contributed funds to the CP, USA on a regular basis.

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NY T-1  
February, 1963

On March 22, 1962, STANLEY LEVISON stated that MARTIN called him early yesterday morning before he went to church and told LEVISON that "COBERTA" had been invited to go to Geneva by the Women's Strike for Peace Convention. KING stated that Mrs. CYRUS EATON would be going with the delegation of about 30 women, most of whom are housewives.

LEVISON indicated that KING was concerned with idea that the "Communist label would be pinned on us," but on the other hand he desired to do everything possible on the question of making evidence of friendship towards the Soviet Union.

NY T-4  
March 26, 1962

✓ On June 11, 1962, MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. visited the office of STANLEY LEVISON, 6 East 39th Street, New York City.

LEVISON at this time told KING that he was glad that KING had followed his advice in calling off the planned sit-in demonstration in Atlanta, following the plane crash which took the lives of many prominent Atlantans. KING agreed it was a good idea, a smart move which undoubtedly achieved better feelings toward his group.

LEVISON and KING discussed future affairs planned by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). KING detailed one in particular which they planned to hold at the Waldorf Hotel, indicating it would be sealed at \$25.00 a plate with an expected attendance of 1,000. LEVISON commented that he thought it was priced too high, and thought that 300 would be a more accurate figure for attendance.

NY T-5  
June 11, 1962

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On September 10, 1962, STANLEY LEVISON was in contact with CLARENCE JONES, with respect to the church burnings in the south. JONES and LEVISON said that MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. should not be silent with regard to this matter, but should send some sort of a "hot wire" to "KENNEDY" along the lines that the Government cannot control a small community. They stated the wire should be indignant and a comparison should be made in the telegram that the United States' world-wide obligations are so great that it can not take care of a small community. JONES stated that he would suggest the idea of the telegram to MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

NY T-5  
September 10, 1962

CLARENCE JONES

CLARENCE JONES is currently the Acting Executive Secretary of the Ghandi Society for Human Rights.

On February 26, 1957, a photograph of CLARENCE JONES as the person whom he knew during late 1953, or early 1954, to be a member of and in a position of leadership in the Labor Youth League (LYL).

NY T-7  
February 26, 1957

The LYL has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

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On September 13, 1962, source advised that CLARENCE JONES, in filling out an application, listed the fact that he belonged to the Columbia University Chapter of the Young Progressives of America (YPA) during 1949-1953.

NY T-8  
September 13, 1962

HERBERT ROMERSTEIN, a self-admitted former Communist and YPA member, in testimony before a subcommittee of the Committee of the Judiciary, United States Senate, on April 12 and June 12, 1951, stated that the YPA was set up on the basis of the needs of the Communist Party (CP). YPA members were active within the organization as Communists and the organization was developed along CP lines. ROMERSTEIN also related that YPA leadership was composed of CP members.

On February 5, 1963, MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. contacted STANLEY LEVISON in New York City. LEVISON said that he had some notes for KING for tonight (February 5, 1963). KING said that was the reason for his call. KING indicated that he was attending a dinner at the Essex House at 59th Street at about 6:30 p.m. that evening. LEVISON agreed to meet KING at KING's room at the Sheraton-Atlantic Hotel at 5:00 p.m. at which time LEVISON would give KING the notes.

NY T-5  
February 5, 1963

NY 100-136585

On March 6, 1963, MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. and STANLEY LEVISON had a lengthy discussion in which they discussed an article that KING was preparing for the magazine "The Nation."

Among other items, LEVISON and KING discussed the President's Civil Rights message. KING said he made a statement after the message came out to the effect that "if we can get a significant breakthrough in voter registration, it will mean a great deal.... in the total struggle, but it doesn't go far enough." KING referred to the schizophrenic trend of the administration, on one hand it appoints a THURGOOD MARSHALL as a Federal Judge, and then appoints judges in the south who are outright segregationists." KING stated that "KENNEDY has often said to me that you can't get this through.... there is no point in introducing strong civil rights legislation because you can't get it through." KING concluded by stating that his contention is that if he (President KENNEDY) would get out and really fight - crusade for it, it would have a stronger chance of getting through." LEVISON agreed with KING on this observation.

NY T-6  
March 6, 1963

On March 10, 1963, STANLEY LEVISON was in contact with MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. KING stated that he would be in New York sometime next week and wanted to get a group together at Harry's to discuss "this Birmingham thing." KING added "we decided to postpone that thing until the day after the election because BULL O'CONNOR is in the runoff, and we feel that if we make a move before that time, he could use that to his advantage.



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KING then told LEVISON that going into Birmingham is going to be a difficult matter; that they are going to do everything they can to destroy the image of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, particularly the Birmingham newspapers. Now, since they played this thing up so much "we were wondering if it would be better to continue sending the circulars through the usual channels." LEVISON agreed and concluded by stating, "There is no sense giving them a timely red herring."

NY T-6

March 10, 1963

On May 21, 1963, MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. had a lengthy discussion with STANLEY LEVISON. LEVISON inquired of KING as to the feeling of the Birmingham community to the expulsion of Negro students by the Birmingham Board of Education. KING replied that he thought "we" could hold them together. He does not, in his opinion, want to follow an unwise act on the part of the Board of Education, with an unwise act on "our part." KING believes that (EUGENE) "BULL" O'CONNOR, City Commissioner of Public Safety, is doing this to provoke the Negro community to the point that they will do something to so confuse the situation that it will upset the agreement now in effect. LEVISON suggested that KING issue a statement that he will not be trapped by these tactics. KING stated that he had made it very clear that this was a temporary move and that it would be unwise to move without looking at the total situation.

LEVISON told KING that he had a discussion with CLARENCE JONES, Chief Counsel, Ghandi Society of Human Rights, concerning setting up temporary educational

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facilities for the expelled students and going to the public and to prominent individuals, to ask for contributions for this purpose. KING thought this was a good idea, but he hoped it would not be necessary as he felt that "we are going to get them back in school."

LEVISON then suggested that KING write a book concerning his experiences in Birmingham.

NY T-6  
May 21, 1963

On May 23, 1963, MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. was in contact with STANLEY LEVISON and discussed a fund raising luncheon to be held in New York City.

NY T-5  
May 23, 1963

On June 1-2, 1963, a discussion was held between STANLEY LEVISON, a New York Attorney, MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., Leader of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and CLARENCE JONES, Acting Executive Director of the Ghandi Society for Human Rights. During the discussion, KING mentioned that ROY WILKINS of the NAACP had been imprisoned but may now be out on bond. LEVISON suggested that KING send a telegram to the President protesting the incarceration of WILKINS.

KING told LEVISON he had read his, LEVISON's, memorandum, but did not quite understand what LEVISON proposed be done now.

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LEVISON explained that it was his thought that "the Birmingham pattern" can be followed in other cities where there are unresolved problems. He noted that in Atlanta, there is no bi-racial committee and the establishment of one could be a first demand. In other cities, it may be desirable to have direct action first "followed by the Birmingham pattern." LEVISON said that each city should be examined separately.

KING commented that he has never seen the Negro community as aroused, as determined, as enthusiastic as at this time. He said that "more than ever before is this national determination and feeling that time is running out." He stated that he thought "we are on the threshold of a significant breakthrough and the greatest weapon is mass demonstration."

KING stated "we are at the point where we can mobilize all of this righteous indignation into a powerful mass movement."

KING suggested that there be a mass march or the impression be given that a mass march of "literally thousands and thousands of people is going to be organized on Washington." He added "the threat itself may so frighten the President that he would have to do something." He asked LEVISON "are we ready for that?"

LEVISON said there were two things which must be considered:

1. There must be unanimity among all groups.
2. Is there more pressure generated on Washington by the series of local situations than by a mass march on Washington?

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KING said that he felt there could be unanimity. He said ROY (WILKINS) would probably not be opposed as "pressure builds from the bottom" and the NAACP would exert much pressure on WILKINS.

With respect to the second point raised by LEVISON, KING pointed out he was not thinking of concentrating on Washington alone, but was thinking of activity in every state. He said there should be simultaneous protest on the local level "and at the same time a work stoppage would be called for all over America." He stated that the sort of thing he envisioned would have such an impact that "something would have to give." He again asked LEVISON if LEVISON thought the time was right for such a move and LEVISON agreed that "the time is now."

CLARENCE JONES suggested that KING should discuss his proposal with ROY WILKINS and PHIL before any announcement is made publicly. He felt the timing of such a move is most important.

LEVISON felt that KING was the proper person to make such an announcement and felt that it could be announced when KING addresses a scheduled Trade Union meeting and at his commencement address at City College of New York on June 12, 1963. Following this, LEVISON felt KING could discuss it with both ROY WILKINS and PHIL. LEVISON felt that since it was then publicly announced, WILKINS would have a hard time objecting. KING was of the opinion that he should call a special press conference, possibly in Atlanta, and make his announcement. LEVISON immediately agreed with this proposal and suggested he implement it in his speeches.

The identity of PHIL is unknown to the source.

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KING stated that in all probability, he would get a call from Washington, suggesting that since the President is leaving for Europe shortly, it would be embarrassing for him.

LEVISON commented that because of the President's trip to Europe, he will have to pay attention. He again suggested that a press conference would have a real impact, but suggested that "PHIL" should be advised beforehand.

KING said that such an undertaking would require a real job of mobilization and people would be needed full time.

LEVISON said the effect of such an announcement will "tip" the President towards Civil Rights legislation and this new legislation "will be a powerful lever."

KING suggested that either LEVISON or JONES see "PHIL" and "two of you work out the statement along the lines of the new militancy throughout the country.

KING felt that such undertaking would take six to eight weeks to organize.

LEVISON said that the summer can be a factor as many organizations are on vacation. It was indicated that CLARENCE JONES had attended a meeting at which the National Council of Churches had expressed an interest in KING's "direct action" approach and had specifically mentioned a march on Washington. LEVISON asked JONES if it would be possible to quote individuals without mentioning names who had attended the aforementioned meeting, as "this is new when White Church leadership is looking for something in the way of direct action." He said this would give it the biggest, broadest front ever as "you can see the effect of Negroes joined by the National Council of Churches and not just the Negro churches."

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When JONES demurred to LEVISON's proposal, LEVISON agreed that perhaps it would be inadvisable.

LEVISON asked KING if he would be willing to appear on a television program with JAMES BALDWIN, the writer. KING was not enthusiastic about the idea because he felt that BALDWIN was uninformed regarding his movement. KING noted that BALDWIN, although considered a spokesman of the Negro people, by the press, is not a civil rights leader.

NY T-6  
June 1-2, 1963

On June 4, 1963, MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. was in contact with STANLEY LEVISON. LEVISON and KING discussed an article about KING that was to appear in the next issue of the "Saturday Evening Post." LEVISON and KING also discussed an appearance by KING on some television program in New York City.

NY T-5  
June 4, 1963

On June 6, 1963, STANLEY LEVISON had a discussion with MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. KING inquired if LEVISON had had an opportunity to talk with PHIL. LEVISON replied that CLARENCE JONES reached PHIL in Chicago, and that PHIL in general, liked the idea regarding a mass march on Washington that would bring nationwide attention to the cause of the Negro. According to LEVISON, PHIL wants to discuss this matter with KING personally. In view of the fact that PHIL's organization had planned a similar march in the fall, and that if

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any kind of march on Washington is to take place now, it would make the march in the fall by PHIL's organization anti-climatic. It was PHIL's opinion that perhaps the march by his organization, and that proposed by KING could be coincided in the immediate future. LEVISON suggested that KING attempt to contact PHIL as soon as possible in order to discuss this matter in detail.

KING asked LEVISON if LEVISON, along with JACK O'DELL (HUNTER PITTS O'DELL) would be able to get some statistics on the annual Negro income of the average Negro family, as against the annual income of the average white family on a national level, and then for some southern states, like Alabama, where "we" are now working. KING would like to use these statistics at a luncheon in New York City on June 12, 1963. LEVISON stated that he would attempt to get the statistics along with JACK O'DELL, and pointed out that the main point of these statistics is that the gap between Negro and white income today is greater than the gap that existed between Negro and white income during the Depression days. KING and LEVISON made arrangements to discuss these and other matters later in the week.

NY T-6  
June 6, 1963

HUNTER PITTS O'DELL

In July, 1962, HUNTER PITTS O'DELL was considered by the CP, USA as a member of its National Committee.

NY T-1  
July, 1962

